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Community Enlightenment Series

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BERKELEY UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT

BERKELEY UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT
COMMUNITY ENLIGHTENMENT SERIES
THE INTERGROUP EDUCATION PROJECT

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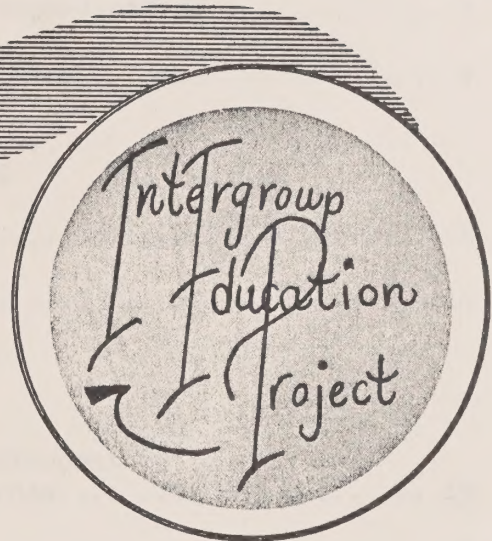
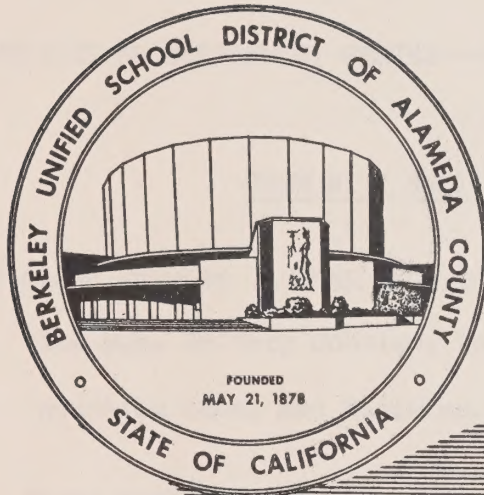
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School Year 1963--1964



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BERKELEY UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

This is the second year in which the Berkeley Unified School District has offered "The Community Enlightenment Series". This is a part of a continuing effort to involve the community in major issues affecting the education of our young people.

We feel that this kind of program has proved its value in stimulating thought, in providing information, and in giving the community the benefit of eminent speakers on the various subjects under study. The response from the community indicates that this series is providing a vital service.

Both last year and this we have been very fortunate in the caliber of leadership involved in this series. Our thanks as a school district goes to these leaders, to the individuals in the Intergroup Education Project and the Berkeley Evening School who have planned and administered the series, and to all of the people who have attended the programs and participated in the discussions.

C. H. Wennerberg
Superintendent of Schools

PREFACE

The 1963-64 Community Enlightenment Series of four lectures was presented as a sequel to the first series of the preceding year.

This year the Berkeley Evening School was invited by the Inter-group Education Project to serve as co-sponsor of the Series.

The purpose of this program was to direct the attention of the general community to activities carried on by various levels of government to develop better understanding among all segments of the population and to create equal opportunities for all.

C. Edward Pedersen, Principal
Berkeley Evening School

COMMUNITY ENLIGHTENMENT SERIES--FOR WHAT?

We may think of enlightenment merely as furnishing useful information, or, going a bit deeper we may think of enlightenment as the act of shedding the light of truth and knowledge upon a subject or problem. Going in greater depth, we may say that enlightenment is the act of displacing ignorance, error, misunderstanding with information, knowledge, education and insight.

With this brief discussion of enlightenment as a background, I like to think of democracy as a setting in which lasting values are generated by individuals working and learning together in a community of aspirations. By such constructive interplay of human interest is the moral, spiritual, economic and social tone of our nation established.

The American Ideal provides the opportunity for the realization of the potential of talents and abilities of each individual. But the American Ideal cannot grow and thrive unless citizens share themselves with their neighbors in advancing goals of the community and the farflung public interest of the state and nation in behalf of the common good. I am convinced that this Community Enlightenment Series can do much to advance the course of democracy and the constant reaching for the American Ideal.

A. B. Campbell, Assistant Superintendent

In many ways Berkeley is a community with a unique challenge and a unique opportunity. We are in part a University town, but we are much broader than this. The diversity represented by many different cultural groups adds richness to our community, but it also adds the challenge of our discovering and understanding each other and our diverse interests--interests that may appear conflicting on the surface, but may, in fact, have more in common than in conflict.

We have examples of eastern Universities which have spent millions of dollars to stem the tide of the decaying city that surrounds them. Berkeley is also subject to the problems of a great urban complex. But I feel there is a real awakening within our city, and a new willingness to face the problems before us. A healthy and awakened city is vital to the University. The University, in turn, can adopt policies which aid in the solution of city problems. Each segment of our community has a vital part to play: University, industry, commerce, our public schools, our city government, volunteer agencies, and many others.

Perhaps our greatest problem and challenge is one of communication and understanding. When individuals from all parts of our community can discuss problems freely together, we can then work out solutions to the benefit of all.

Mrs. Ann C. Birge, parent and member,
De Facto Segregation Study Committee

COMMUNITY ENLIGHTENMENT SERIES--FOR WHAT?

The Intergroup Education Project of the Berkeley Unified School District is proud to present this informative lecture series. These lectures are the result of much thinking and research on the part of experts in the field of intergroup relations.

The printed lectures should serve as a textbook for our community, as well as the Berkeley Schools. We hope that each lecture is carefully read and evaluated for the ideas that we can use to help our children in our homes and classrooms. Our lecture series is aimed at providing the best possible education for our clients--the children in the classroom.

Mrs. Kathryne Favors, Coordinator
Intergroup Education Project

The second annual Community Enlightenment Series has been a further testing of the model of the public forum as a way of probing both the core of shared interest and divergent interest which make Berkeley a community. Here, the public school, home and neighborhood consider these commonalities and differences; here, they consider the proposals and guidelines for change from local, state and national leaders; here, school personnel are alerted to the demands of the present day for action not yet customary or traditionally sanctioned.

The series this year focused on enabling public education to so capitalize on today's points of impact that they not become points of impasse!

Dr. Marie Fielder, Consultant
Intergroup Education Project

THE NEGRO REVOLT:

A CHALLENGE TO AMERICAN EDUCATION

Jeffery Cohelan
Congressman

Ladies and gentlemen, I am deeply honored to be with you this evening as we begin this second annual community enlightenment series. Public participation and discussion are the backbone of our democracy--they are the lifeblood of a free and open society--and in a very real sense this series is in the great tradition of our American heritage.

On a personal basis, let me add, that Mrs. Cohelan and I are both very pleased to be home. This has already been a long session of Congress, and there is no question that we certainly have much left to do.

The subject before us tonight is a formidable one, but it is one in which I have had a long and a deep interest, and I welcome the opportunity to discuss it.

This year of 1963 marks the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation--an act which declared in unmistakable ringing terms that all men shall be free--and of the Gettysburg Address which reaffirmed that all men are created equal.

This month of October in 1963 marks the 10th anniversary of still another historic event; of a Supreme Court term which struck down discrimination in our public schools, under the guise of separate but equal, as a violation of the 14th amendment to our Constitution, as a denial of equal educational opportunity for all.

In those 100 years, and more particularly in the last 10, grudging progress has been made. The Commission on Civil Rights has reported that more Americans than ever before are exercising more fully their rights as citizens. Today slightly over half of the 6,200 school districts in the 17 Southern and border States have both white and Negro students; 113 districts were desegregated for the first time this fall--18 of them by Court order--and in 2 States--South Carolina and Alabama--the previous all-white color line was broken.

But across our land Negro children are continuing to attend segregated schools, ninety-four percent of the 265,000 Negro students who attend school with whites in the South do so in the border States. In the South, schools are generally segregated by official policy, notwithstanding the Supreme Court's finding that segregation on the basis of race cannot constitutionally be enforced. And, school segregation is not limited to this area alone. In the North and West de facto segregation continues; segregation because of existing housing patterns, and the practice of assigning pupils to neighborhood schools. As the Commission on Civil Rights has stated: Concentration of colored Americans in restricted areas of most major cities produces a high degree of school segregation, even in communities accepting the Supreme Court's decision.

The story of school segregation, however--of its heavy cost to the individual and the Nation--cannot be told in terms of statistics alone.

Education is the keystone of our democracy--it is the centerpiece in the arch of freedom and progress. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities. It is a principle instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. It is the very foundation of good citizenship.

For the Nation, increasing the quality and availability of education is vital to our national security and domestic well-being. But availability and quality cannot be meaningful when minority groups are denied equal opportunity--a denial which the Court has ruled inherent where discrimination is practiced.

For the individual, open doors to the schoolhouse, to the library and to the college are vital in achieving the richest treasures of our open society: the power of knowledge--the training and skills necessary for productive employment--and the wisdom and understanding needed for good citizenship in today's changing and challenging world. The

Supreme Court in its 1954 decision declared in fact: "It is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education."

But the fact remains that many Negro children who entered grade schools in 1954 have entered segregated high schools this year, suffering a loss which can never be regained. The lack of equal educational opportunity deprives the individual of equal economic opportunity; it restricts his contribution as a citizen and a community leader; it encourages him to drop out of school; and it imposes a heavy burden on the effort to eliminate discriminatory practices from our way of life.

It is startling, but the Negro in America today has half as much chance of completing high schools and a third as much chance of completing college. He has a third as much chance of being a professional man and half as much chance of owning his own home. He has twice as much chance of being unemployed and the prospects of earning only half as much.

This, of course, is the real story of school segregation. This is what a rising tide of Negro discontent against the complacency of our time--the Negro revolt, if you will--has revealed. And although the Horatio Alger legend is a well-established article of our country's folklore, few Americans, today, I think, would agree that the typical Alger hero would have made it had his skin been of a darker shade.

The temptation is certainly strong to say that the Negro child should be seen merely as any other child, respected as an individual, and provided with an educational program that will best meet his particular needs.

The answer is, of course, that the Negro child, like every other child, is entitled to be treated as an individual. Such treatment is the only sound basis for carrying on his or any other child's education, but this easy generalization does not completely come to grips with the whole truth.

The American Negro youngster and his fellow minority members are part of a group that for a long time have been the object of special political, legal, and social action. This is not a question of what should have been, or might be tomorrow, but an undeniable and inescapable fact of today.

As the very able and distinguished president of Teacher's College, Columbia University, Dr. John Fischer, has stated:

"Every Negro child is the victim of the history of his race in this country. On the day he enters kindergarten he carries a burden no white man can ever know, no matter what other handicaps or disabilities he may suffer. When all the variability is conceded, it cannot be denied that every American Negro child must expect to encounter certain problems which none of our other children face in quite the same way."

Elaborating on this point, the Educational Policies Commission in a recent statement has emphasized that a substantial minority of Americans have grown up in cultures which are not compatible with much of modern life. This minority consists by no means only of Negroes, nor are all Negroes culturally disadvantaged. But vast numbers of them are disadvantaged as a direct consequence of legal, social, and I would add, economic segregation.

Many of the Negro children who come to school today are victims of their parents' lack of knowledge and of schooling--parents who in turn are victims of a situation over which they frequently had little or no control. Teaching reading, for example, to a first grade child who has never seen an adult with a book requires an approach quite different from one appropriate to a child in whose home books are as normal as food. Similarly a child who has never known sustained conversation with his parents must first learn the skills of continuing discussion before he can learn much else in school.

Pilot projects in California, New York and elsewhere have repeatedly shown that a tremendous, but unlocked potential exists. And the Civil Rights Commission, on the basis of numerous studies, has stated that a gap exists between the average starting white and Negro student--a gap which may represent as much as one and a half to two school years by the time the child reaches the high school grades.

What then does this mean for our schools today? In light of our democratic values, what guidelines for policy and practice are implied? The first thought follows quite naturally from what has already been said--that the assessment of each student, and the release of his potentialities, must be approached on an individual basis. Each student's education must be peculiarly his own. Its success cannot be achieved unless seen against the history from which he has come, and in terms of the environment in which he currently lives.

With this as a start we can move to a second thought--the thought that equality of opportunity should mean more than a schoolroom desk for every child. It should mean that every student may rightfully expect to find himself in fair competition and on an even footing with his classmates. Today, of course, this situation does not exist. Many Americans, and the Negro in particular, have been systematically deprived of the conditions which would make this ideal a reality. Progress has been made, but much more is required. Again quoting from Dr. Fischer of Columbia--a man with long experience in this field: "Is it not a reasonable contention--and a just one--that to compensate for past injustices, we should offer these children educational services beyond the level of what might be called standard equality? Could it be that to achieve total equality of opportunity in American we may have to modify currently accepted ideas about equality of opportunity in education itself?" The answer, I think, must be a resounding yes, and the precedent, of course, is already well established.

Thousands of mentally and physically handicapped children today regularly receive teaching service above the norm. They benefit from physical facilities and supporting services which are more extensive and more costly than those furnished to children considered physically and mentally normal. No one, I am sure, would dispute the justness and wisdom of this approach, but it inevitably leads us to the suggestion that the generalization should apply to other under-privileged groups as well--that we may need to substitute for our traditional concept of equal educational opportunity a new concept of compensatory opportunity.

I doubt that anyone could say precisely what compensatory opportunity should mean in every case. But it could very well include some of the following:

1. Lower student-teacher ratios in certain schools.
2. Additional guidance services and special physical facilities.
3. Enlistment of teachers especially prepared to serve disadvantaged or deprived youngsters.
4. Development of curriculum particularly relevant to present life and the interests of pupils.
5. Encouragement of peer group support.
6. Parental involvement in school activities.
7. Combinations of work and study programs.

California, as many of you know, initiated a 2-year pilot program of compensatory education for culturally deprived children this year--a program in which Berkeley is one of the first 24 participants. Berkeley has also been a pioneer in drawing on a great local resource--the University of California--for teacher trainees to work in classrooms of particular need. Unfortunately, programs of this type today are few and far between. Their expansion needs to be encouraged and new ideas need constantly to be sought and tested. Berkeley can take pride in what it has done, but the need is so great, and the horizon so broad, that humbleness, perseverance, and an inquiring mind should be our constant guides.

A third and final thought might best be described as a striving for quality; as the quest for educational excellence.

Certainly one of the truly knotty problems in the North and West today is the matter of attendance lines which are drawn so that one race predominates in a school. James Conant, in his excellent book, "Slums and Suburbs," has made a clear distinction between de jure and de facto segregation. He has indicated his belief that there is nothing wrong with socially unbalanced schools, provided they reflect the neighborhood; are not the result of assignment because of race, and offer an equivalent quality of education. Others disagree quite radically with Conant, arguing that present concentrations of Negroes and other minority groups have been artificially achieved and that artificial means must be followed to break the pattern. And the case can certainly be made that the real issue is how to lead all of the communities' children into meaningful encounters with each other, to the end that they develop skills of citizenship commensurate with the demanding times in which they live.

The Supreme Court, of course, has not yet ruled on this question, but several lower courts have. In *Clemons v. The Hillsboro Board of Education* and in *Taylor v. New Rochelle*, Federal courts have stated that gerrymandering of school attendance boundaries for the purpose of confining Negroes to one school violates the 14th amendment. And in *Goss v. The Knoxville Board of Education*, the Court ruled that "no official transfer plan or provision of which racial segregation is the inevitable consequence, may stand under the 14th amendment." It is well to note, however, that the Commission on Civil Rights, in its latest report, has found that the open enrollment plans studied had little effect on the racial composition of schools, even when transportation was provided. In spite of all efforts to achieve racially heterogeneous schools, it seems evident, the Commission stated, that many, particularly in the large cities, will retain a large degree of racial imbalance until discrimination in housing and employment are things of the past. It seems to me, therefore, that while our efforts on other fronts should not slacken, that we should be concerned with insuring the highest standard of educational excellence in all of our schools, regardless of their racial composition.

President Kennedy stated in a message to Congress last year that:

"Our progress as a nation can be no swifter than our progress in education. Our requirements for world leadership, our hope for economic growth and the demands of citizenship itself, all require the maximum development of every young American's capacity."

The simple truth is that a free nation can rise no higher than the standard of excellence set in its schools and colleges. Ignorance and illiteracy, unskilled workers and school dropouts, breed failures in our social and economic system. They are the seedbed of delinquency and unemployment, of a loss of productive power, and a furtherance of chronic dependence. Failure to improve educational performance is not only a moral laxity, it is a poor social policy, and poor economics. The steps to improved quality, of course, are not simple--they require time, and they require support. But the difficulties of operating schools which can cope successfully and simultaneously with both racial and educational issues are among the most puzzling and difficult facing the American people today. They in turn require patience and perseverance, and a willingness to being. As the story goes, Marshall Lyautey, a great French general of the twenties, went out one day and asked his gardener to plant a tree. But, the gardener complained, this tree won't flower for 100 years. "Well then," responded the marshall, "We have no time to lose, plant it this afternoon." Our tree--the tree of true equality and excellence of educational opportunity--a tree which is the challenge for American education today, should and must flower before another 100 years have passed. But we too must begin today, and we too must be able to say with the poet:

" Give me men to match our mountains,
Give me men to match our plains,
Men with empires in their purpose,
and new eras in their brains."

REACTION PANEL AND AUDIENCE

Panel Members: Mrs. Harriet Wood, principal of Emerson Elementary School
Emery Curtice, principal of Berkeley High School
Roy Takeuchi, principal of Whittier U.E. School
Edward Pedersen, principal of Berkeley Evening School
Arthur Shearer, principal of Willard Junior High School

Mrs. Wood: A few comments from the panel will give the audience time to formulate some questions. Would any of the panel members like to comment upon any of the points you have just heard which are pertinent to your particular school level?

Mr. Curtice: When Mr. Cohelan spoke of compensatory education, I couldn't help wondering what kind of educational program would be required to sell the public. While there are excellent ideas for compensatory education, they are going to cost a lot of money.

Mr. Cohelan: You have gotten right to the heart of the problem. Through public discussion we are going to have to come to grips with the need and pay whatever the costs are. The ideas that I presented are not novel; they are well understood by Mr. Curtice and other professional educators. They have been doing these things to some extent. It takes concerned people to see that money is provided to meet the needs. In the health areas, for example, there are people who make sure that their children's needs are cared for. They put pressure on the political agencies to pass the necessary laws supporting the things they believe to be essential. Something like this is needed for compensatory education. I have very special ideas about how this should be done. I think nationally we have to give our schools a big boost, and we have to do this through many devices. I am glad to know this community is having discussions on the matter right now. But when I come home and find that my own home town is way ahead of everybody else, I am both proud and very discouraged.

Mrs. Wood: Mr. Takeuchi, since you were responsible for one of the programs that Mr. Cohelan mentioned, which received financial assistance from the State, perhaps you would like to share some knowledge with the audience.

Mr. Takeuchi: What we actually are getting from the State on the compensatory education program is really just a drop in the bucket, and when I was asked to evaluate what I could do with it, I had to say, "Not much of anything." It amounts to about \$2800. The program I had set up and I was dreaming-included counselors, integrated activities, smaller teacher-pupil ratio, and many other things. I would like to ask Mr. Cohelan if any national legislation is on the move right now for financing a national program.

Mr. Cohelan: As you know, we have already acted in the vocational field and the rehabilitation and retraining field. Several measures have gone through. However, your question, I am sure, is directed at the larger program which will not likely come up this year. It may be brought out next year, but in what form remains to be seen. Federal aid to education is a controversial matter. The religious question is involved, and there is at the present time an effort to work out formulas which might permit some rationalization of this. When the bill does come out it will probably provide for construction and teacher's salaries, although the latter is a very hotly contested item. This kind of bill will have a much greater chance than the broader bill and is considered to be the most likely type of bill to pass the House of Representatives. It is in the President's program.

Mr. Pedersen: Was the Perkin's Bill brought up recently relative to basic education for adults?

Mr. Cohelan: I think it passed the House of Representatives. I am not sure where it is in the Senate.

Mr. Pedersen: Those of us in adult education believe that educated parents will stimulate their children to remain in school. It has been found in some of the eastern cities that functional illiterates seem to carry from one generation to another. In the Berke-

ley adult education program we have been striving to get into our program those functional illiterate adults who, because they are not able to read or write, often have difficulty in finding employment. They somehow pass on to their children the idea that school is not always necessary, which results in the dropout from generation to generation. There are adults who come into our adult schools unable to write their own names, and we take them from that point on and eventually are able to graduate them from the standard high school program.

Mrs. Wood: I think Berkeley is outstanding because it is making special efforts and has already started many projects and programs, such as increasing guidance help, improving salaries, smaller class sizes, changes in curriculum, improvements in the class setting, getting parents interested, improving motivation of the student. We can be proud that efforts are being made, but we in the education field feel frustrated because either the programs do not provide enough, or are not getting enough support, or they do not go far enough, or some of them are not as effective as we expected them to be. I wonder if Mr. Cohelan has any reaction to that.

Mr. Cohelan: My immediate reaction is that the educational institution alone is not going to solve the problem. Many collateral measures must be taken simultaneously. Those of us who are very much concerned and involved with unemployment data, are very aware of the structural character of unemployment today. This briefs many of the problems we are talking about. If people are not trained, they live in a vicious circle. We have to take specific political measures to bridge the gap. If we don't attack the problems of housing and unemployment, I greatly fear that the problems of educating the under-educated child will be a continuing one for some time.

Mrs. Wood: Do you have any special comments to make about the apprenticeship programs and getting more Negro students into these programs that will help to prepare them for economic opportunity.

Mr. Cohelan: As you know, we did pass a federal measure, a manpower retraining bill, and California is participating in that program very actively. Our state is much further advanced than many in the fields of vocation, rehabilitation and apprenticeship training, and our industrial program is quite advanced. About 75,000 persons in California are taking advantage of it. Your district received only \$2800 this year for a program of compensatory education, and it is a very small amount to begin with, but I am told that this is just a model for the next year's program, and they expect to enlarge it.

Mrs. Wood: Since we have been talking about vocational training and some of the problems we have encountered, I wonder if Mr. Shearer would like to tell the audience about Miss Stiles' project for 9th graders at Willard.

Mr. Shearer: One of our teachers, Mary K. Stiles, has developed a very interesting work-experience program for boys in which they have an opportunity to work at jobs on Saturdays. This provides them with opportunities to relate school experience with the work-a-day world of holding down a job, to develop the attitudes, the sense of responsibility necessary for holding down a position, and the chance to earn some money. I think this is a very good step in the right direction.

Mr. Cohelan has mentioned something which is at the core of our concern. We are very happy that the federal government has seen fit to give financial assistance, as an emergency measure, for teaching of foreign languages, mathematics and science, and for the training of counselors. This is excellent. But the teaching of reading is the greatest basic need I think, at the very root of compensatory education. Can't reading be framed as an emergency?

Mr. Cohelan: I understand that Burbank Junior High School has recently adopted a plan to replace study halls with two reading and English periods for students who need to improve these skills. They are also encouraging the purchase of paperback books by students, using School Resource Volunteers to work with students on a tutorial basis, as well as doing team teaching.

Mr. Cohelan: I agree wholeheartedly that such programs should receive support. I would like to take this opportunity to tell you that the Education and Labor Committee of the House of Representatives, with which I am most familiar, has many very fine members from both sides of the aisle. I have been very impressed with the detailed knowledge that the committee has when it finally acts on a given program. Mr. Green and Mr. Perkins both deal with these subjects on their sub-committees and have repeatedly reported out bills for financial support to education. In the legislative process these things sometimes get lost; they are in competition with other domestic legislation.

Mr. Curtice: It seems to me that the field of compensatory education should be considered of federal interest and responsibility, especially since many of the localities where compensatory education is needed had nothing to do with the conditions which necessitate it.

Mr. Cohelan: It is ironical that the State of Mississippi gets more money from the federal government than it pays in taxes and does so regularly, and yet when a program such as compensatory education comes up for a vote, the southern delegations are opposed to it on the theory of economy. This is one of the big political issues that faces us today.

Mrs. Wood: Now it is time to give the audience a turn. Perhaps someone has questions, comments or suggestions he would like to direct to Mr. Cohelan.

From the audience: If the government is willing to give aid to foreign countries, why can't it give money to the Negro, who suffers an economic disadvantage, to buy a home and supplement his income? As you know, the United States was built on Negro free labor, and it would be like a debt paid back. We are suffering because of our past and will continue so unless some kind of aid is given to us.

Mr. Cohelan: Everyone familiar with the problem recognizes that strong measures must be taken, and some are being taken. But it isn't all going to happen over night. I think it is very important that we recognize what is involved and what has to be done first. First of all, employment is important, because without a job and income a person ultimately becomes a public charge. Employment is vital to our economy. We have to face up to the problem of full employment and the need for a growing economy, and then we have to take measures to ensure an environment in the community to permit people to live in a decent place, and that should apply to all Americans. I believe that any program which is structured by the federal government should be a general program but designed in such a way that it will be a reality to those people who need it.

From the audience: Why can't the federal government do something about police brutality in the South?

Mr. Cohelan: I think the federal government has done everything that it legally can do. In what has happened recently in Alabama and Mississippi, the Attorney General and his assistants have gone just as far as they can. One of the bills presently pending in Congress would give the Attorney General power to take action where rights are violated. This is one of the matters of contention in the debate on the Civil Rights Bill.

From the audience: There is much talk about the disadvantaged Negro, but what about the disadvantaged white child who attends a segregated school in a segregated neighborhood and goes out into the world not knowing anything about anyone of another race. If you could get some of the white community to realize that their children are disadvantaged in the segregated white schools, you might be able to get money for some of these programs you are talking about.

When Marie Fielder asked me to appear on this program, I was somewhat reluctant to accept, a reluctance born out of the fact that it seemed to me a reversion of the natural order of things for you, or any other group to extend an invitation to a person from what I understand northern Californians regard as the dreary intellectual wasteland of Los Angeles to come to the enlightened community of Berkeley to lead a discussion on The Negro Revolution and Public Education. In hasty self defense, I asked her what kind of an audience could possibly be assembled for such an event. Her reply that the description of any Berkeley gathering--did not dispel my indecision, but her assurance of an honorarium--a delicate academic synonym for money--had that effect. No lawyer can possibly overcome the temptation of getting paid for talking.

At the risk of being thought an ungracious guest, let me begin by saying that at a time when civil rights is the nation's most pressing, and most widely discussed, domestic issue, I can think of no more unlikely place to learn the meaning and gain an understanding of the nature and scope of the problems involved than in the public schools of this state. Meaningful exposition of the subject is confined to a few graduate courses and to the law schools with their limited enrollments.

In making that statement I distinguish between civil rights and civil liberties--using the term "civil rights" to comprehend personal equality before the law and the right of the individual to participate freely and fully in the economic, political and social life of the nation without discrimination and the term "civil liberties" to mean the guarantee of basic rights such as freedom of speech, petition and the like against governmental invasion or impairment. In the case of civil liberties there is widespread public subscription to constitutional ideals no matter how much such rights may be curtailed in practice, but in the case of civil rights there is a substantial body of public opinion holding that some Americans, particularly Negroes, ought to forego exercise of those rights out of deference to popular prejudices or, worse, that the white majority has the prerogative of curtailing the exercise of such rights until the majority is ready to permit their exercise.

That idea finds expression in the formulations, so popular these days, that Negroes are "demanding too much" or "moving too fast". The quality and pace of change, it is said, ought to be geared to the will of the majority with complete equality deferred until there has been a "change in the hearts and minds of men" by the "long, slow process of education". That change, we are assured, will be expedited as the Negro "proves" himself and "earns" the equality he seeks. The inarticulate major premise, often unrecognized by the proponents of these ideas, is that the Constitution, even as amended, tolerates a caste system. Under that caste system, white Americans, it is believed, are born into the upper caste and are by virtue of birth full fledged members of the American body politic and hence endowed with full social, political and economic rights while Negroes, born into the lower caste, can attain a species of honorary upper caste status at the sufferance of white Americans with concomitant admission to the American body politic where they, too, may enjoy the full social, economic and political equality with which the white American is vested by right of birth. Thus the commonplace that ours is a government of laws and not of men is perverted and the tacit assumption is that Negroes must submit to non-constitutional and non-statutory government responsive to the whim and caprice of white men.

Where the Negro has expressed dissatisfaction with the slow pace of change in the "hearts and minds" of men, he has been told, rather sharply sometimes, that education will dull the cutting edge of racial prejudice and has been warned, even more sharply, that he cannot precipitate change by law. Educators are especially fond of William Graham Sumner's 19th century dictum that law ways cannot change folkways. They are equally fond of telling us that they are effectuating that change through our schools.

In an effort to find out how our California educators treat civil rights issues, I borrowed my teen age son's junior college textbook on history revised in 1950--The Making

of Modern America. The authors deem eleven Negroes worthy of mention in the course of 782 pages of text. They include Booker T. Washington (of course) who got a nice one-line tribute on the ground that he "favored vocational education for Negroes"; George Washington Carver who is the only Negro whose photo appears in the book and who merits a pat on the back because he "studied and taught better farming methods"; two concert artists, Marian Anderson and Roland Hayes; two poets, Langston Hughes and Countee Cullen and a novelist, Richard Wright, none of whose works are identified; a scientist Ernest Just; a ban leader, Duke Ellington; a "runner," Jesse Owens and a prize fighter, Joe Louis. Together the eleven of them got just about as much space as Billy the Kid!

I am not exaggerating when I say that the book does not contain a single reference, textually or in its index, to racial segregation. The student reading that book would have no possible way of learning that racial segregation was enforced by law in all public and semi-public facilities in all southern and border states and there is no hint of its all pervasive character, until quite recently, in voluntary organizations, labor unions, the armed forces, and in residence, north as well as south. Neither "discrimination" nor "racial discrimination" is indexed and there is no inkling of the great constitutional battles fought by Negroes in the Courts over the past three decades. References to southern troops in the Civil War--and a great deal of space is devoted to that topic--are universally laudatory but there is not a single word to tell the student that more than 180,000 Negroes were enrolled in the Union armies and that ten of them won the nation's highest military honors. Negro office holding is dismissed with a few snide remarks about Negroes in southern state legislatures, but the student is not told that 22 Negroes served in Reconstruction congresses and two in the United States Senate. No student who used that text could possibly have been prepared for the sit-ins, the Freedom Rides, the boycotts, the demonstrations in Birmingham or the referendum you recently conducted in Berkeley on a fair housing ordinance.

I am sure that there are better history textbooks in use in this state. I know there are many teachers who supplement and clarify textbook deficiencies in their classrooms, but the use of a book of this kind is eloquent of instructional shortcomings of the public school in an area of surpassing importance to the nation. It is difficult, probably impossible, to calculate the impact of such teaching on the student because his attitudes are reflected not only in what he learns, or doesn't learn, in school but what he learns in his home, in the newspapers, in the church and from other media of communication, such as the movies and the TV. A recent event has supplied us with some figures on how the products of our schools vote when confronted with a civil rights issue.

An analysis of a survey conducted after the defeat of your housing ordinance illuminates the attitudes of the variously educated voters of Berkeley. You will recall that the ordinance purported to forbid discrimination in the sale and rental of housing. A careful research organization queried 384 voters who had cast their ballots in that referendum and 368 were willing to tell how they had voted and why. Of that number 201 opposed the ordinance, 167 favored it. Of those queried 115 had a high school education or less: 45 of them favored the ordinance, 70 opposed it; 83 of the persons had some college education and of that number 33 favored the ordinance, 50 opposed it; 101 were college graduates and there were 43 favorable votes and 58 opposing votes in that number, and of 63 who had done graduate work there were 45 in favor and 18 opposed. Reduced to percentages, we find that about 39 percent with high school education or less favored the equalitarian ordinance; 39.1 percent of those with some college training were in favor; about 42.6 percent of college graduates wanted fair housing and, finally, about 71 percent of those with graduate training were in the favorable column.

Before you take whatever small comfort you can in those figures, let me deflate them somewhat by telling you that 60 of the 167 favorable votes were those of Negroes and Orientals. I do not know how they were distributed as to educational attainment but a further analysis shows that 197 white voters opposed the fair housing law while only 107 favored it and that 124 of those opposition votes were cast by persons with educations ranging from some college work to graduate instruction. The melancholy fact is that if voting had been confined to whites with more than high school educations, the ordinance would have been defeated about 124 to 78, and if confined to such persons with college degrees and graduate training, it would have lost 78 to 57.

The reasons assigned for opposition to the ordinance shed some light on the success of the schools in performing their widely heralded mission of teaching respect for and understanding of liberty under the law. Among opposition voters 8 saw "force" in the ordinance as objectionable; 56 said it "interfered" with their rights and was "unfair"; 18 just didn't want any "race mixing"; 20 saw it as "unconstitutional"; 6 were opposed to governmental regulation; 40 thought the penalty was wrong; only 2 believed it would lower property values and 26 said that what we need is "more education", presumably of the kind already being offered in the schools. Never, I suppose, was the American dilemma better illustrated than in these rationalizations for opposition to a law which would simply have permitted an American citizen to compete for housing in the open market. While we're at figures, it is striking to find that only 5 percent of the opposition vote came from persons reared in the South (10 out of 27 ballots cast by those reared in that section were opposition voters) and that in contrast 18 percent of "no" votes came from those reared in Berkeley--36 out of 46 votes cast by Berkeley-ites said No. In fact, 53 percent of the opposition ballots came from northern Californians by birth or training--107 out of 167 ballots cast by those from that area were "no" votes. The sum of the whole matter is that our public schools upon which we have insisted we must rely to erode prejudice and discrimination and inculcate equalitarian beliefs have been ineffective for that purpose.

The ineffectiveness of the school in the area of civil rights rests on more than deficiencies in curriculum and classroom instruction. Under our neighborhood concept, the urban school has accommodated itself to the restrictions imposed by residential segregation and in that process a segregated school system has grown up--denied in theory, accepted in practice. That very accommodation has exacerbated deeply rooted folk beliefs in the social desirability of racial segregation. One of the most persistent bits of urban folklore is that certain sections of our cities belong to members of the ethnic group which inhabit them at the moment. That attitude sanctions the segregated school as the natural product of the segregated community. In its proper turn, the degree of segregation in the neighborhood school becomes an index of community segregation. Understandably enough, the Negro has come to wage war on the segregated school because it has become the symbol of segregation, the touchstone of his forced isolation from the mainstream of American life. And in their own proper turn, white Americans strive mightily to preserve segregation in urban schools. In time the preservation of the segregated city school becomes an end in itself, an end that can be achieved by preservation of the Negro ghetto. Where the floodtide of Negro immigration undermines the maintenance of all-Negro schools, the white families with school children move to the suburbs leaving the childless whites in the central city. Washington, D. C., with its 55 percent Negro population has a Negro school census of about 85 percent and Chicago with its Negro population of some 25 to 30 percent has a Negro school census of about 50 percent.

Thus the all-Negro urban school has become a central issue in the north and west as the Negro Revolution engulfs our section of the nation. The Negro is quite correct in his judgement that confinement of Negro children to one school and whites to another retards the growth of civil rights sentiment and heightens the walls of his isolation; children learn by precept. The Negro also observes that his every attempt to lessen segregation in the urban school stirs up bitter opposition, sometimes open, sometimes concealed. New schools are carefully located to maintain what our Supreme Court has called "racial imbalances". Old school boundary lines are carefully preserved even after it is apparent that their preservation would maintain segregation and that their shift would be little such segregation. With their faith in exculpatory labels, Americans have found a name for urban segregation; it is denominated de facto segregation and the pretext is that application of that label invests it with at least some validity, and makes it invulnerable to attack.

Because race is the central fact of his life from the cradle to the grave, and because his racial identification is the device used to isolate him and visit discrimination on him, the Negro tends to the belief that the obvious deficiencies of the curriculum in respect to instruction in civil rights and his segregation in schools bear sole responsibility for the failure of the schools to fit him for full participation in the social, economic and political life of the nation. That something is wrong is borne in upon him every day. He is told over and over again by the newspapers, by well wishers and friends, by foes, and by his own organizations that his training and education have been,

and still are, deficient and that a large share of his joblessness rests on the fact that he is not prepared for skilled jobs or for promotion when he finds employment. He comes to the conclusion that if he could be trained in the same schools with whites and that if those schools taught the truth of race relations, his troubles would come to an end.

Of course, the civil rights movement--The Negro Revolution--must continue its attack on every manifestation of racism in American life, and that attack must include the covert and overt racism explicit and implicit in the kind of textbooks to which I have alluded and to segregation in schools whether imposed by statute or by blind adherence to a neighborhood pattern. The precise contribution of the Negro Revolution has been its success in confronting the nation with the contradictions between the actual and professed beliefs of Americans, an exposure that has led to a diminution of those contradictions in many instances with the promise of even more correctives as is evidenced by voluntary abandonment of discrimination in some areas, by the issuance of equalitarian executive orders and the imminence of additional civil rights legislation on a federal level.

However, the sober fact is that if all schools were to become integrated overnight in every large metropolitan area and if all textbooks were corrected to tell the exact truth as to American race relations, such reforms would work little change as far as the great masses of Negroes are concerned. The ineffectiveness of our educational system to fit the student for a place in the economic life of the nation runs far deeper than its delinquencies in the area of racial teaching and segregation. Those shortcomings affect all American children, white or black. That our children sense this fact is betrayed in the statistics about dropouts. The dropout is simply a student who has lost faith in education to fit him for a place in our society; the Negro dropout rate is higher for Negroes than for whites because more Negroes than whites, for obvious reasons, have decided that a high school diploma will not afford more by way of economic opportunity. That such loss of faith in education has some validity is evidenced by the fact that unemployment is a growing fixture in our economic system and that automation threatens an increase in such unemployment. If present trends continue by 1970 it has been estimated we will have a million and a half untrained, unemployed and frustrated young products of our school system, a substantial proportion of whom will be Negroes. Public school education cannot diminish unemployment or stay the march of automation. And if every student had a high school education today, the unemployment rate would not be lowered. The composition of the unemployed mass would simply be altered. Parity of unemployment as between whites and Negroes might be approached if the education of Negroes was equal to that of whites but it would not be achieved as long as discriminatory forces were left at play.

There is an uneasy feeling, somewhat justified, that school is out of joint with the times. At the moment our educational system is almost static in outlook, geared to the needs of a by-gone day. The scope of education is narrow indeed; it is not training the student for the automated society that is upon us. Quite obviously, the school system cannot lift itself by its own bootstraps and effect the reforms that are needed. That is the function of the social order which maintain it. The broadening of public education and its modernization depend on the willingness of the public to undertake those tasks--and the will to pay for them. But the need for reform is not confined to the schools. Hand in hand with the expansion of education must come reforms in other sectors of American life; it will do no good to train students unless they can foresee, and actually find, uses for their training. Primarily, the trend to mass unemployment which may reach 12 to 14 million by 1970 must be reversed. Frankly, I see no way to reverse that trend outside of wholesale governmental intervention with massive employment in rehabilitative jobs that will promote the general welfare. And since we cannot, and should not, halt automation, we must adjust our thinking to comprehend training for community services for which there will be increasing need as leisure time inevitably increases. There is much to be done by way of reforestation, soil conservation, flood control, park development and redevelopment, elimination of air and water pollution and like areas where governmental leadership is the necessity and which are outside the realm of private industry. It is a mournful fact that any such program will be berated as socialistic but the alternative is the continued waste of natural and human resources. If the proposals presented here are rejected, the fact will remain that there must be

reforms of some kind to effectuate change and to provide an area in which the school can train its pupils with a reasonable chance that they can function effectively.

It is apparent then that although there is little present awareness of the fact, the Negro Revolution will not serve its end-purpose until it raises its sights and encompasses reform and overhaul of the social system and concomitant reforms in the public school system, both to train pupils for new opportunities and to accelerate the needed changes. It is equally apparent that the Negro Revolution cannot effectuate those changes by itself. The majority must assent. Majority assent will not be given until white Americans see the Negro Revolution for what it is: a determined struggle against forces that are undermining American society. The Negro's leadership in the struggle for change is simply an expression of the fact that the malfunctioning of our society hits him first and hardest because he has been shoved down to the most vulnerable position in our social order. As the last hired and the first fired, he is hardest hit by a rising unemployment. As the first crowded on to relief, he is the first reduced to chronic dependency. As the most isolated, he is the least visible of the invisible poor who comprise 30 to 40 percent of all Americans. As the person most often shoved into the worst schools, he suffers most from inadequate education. As the smallest participant in governmental affairs, he is first to feel the neglect of government for the public welfare. Perverse history which has cast him down in America for three hundred years has cast him in the role of leadership for necessary reforms. But the very reforms for which he struggles are reforms that will confer benefits on the nation at large.

It is ironic indeed that his very struggle for reforms that promise long-range benefit for all Americans stirs up opposition from those who would be beneficiaries of the Negro's success in his quest for equality. Long continued existence of the caste system has deluded Americans into the belief that sharing equality with lower caste Negroes would diminish their own rights. They cry out that the Negro demands "too much" and that he is trying to move "too fast". In reality, no man harms his neighbor by the exercise of his own civil rights; he does not exclude his neighbor by his patronage of a place of public accommodation; he does not deny or infringe his fellow's right to cast a ballot by registering his own choice at the polls; he does not evict another home owner or tenant by selecting his own place of residence; he does not contribute to the insecurity of another citizen by insisting on the security of his own person and he does not prevent the education of his neighbor's children by securing equality of education for his own child. In short, he does not visit inequality on any other man by securing his own equality in our society. There can be, then, no question of "too much".

Every Negro by virtue to citizenship is vested with rights and privileges identical in every respect and in every particular with those vested in any other American. And a free citizen vested with a right must exercise it at the moment of his desire if it is to have meaning for him--every right is "personal and present" in the words of the Supreme Court. An existent right which is denied today is forever lost. Nor does past denial justify continued infringement of such rights or argue that present impediments to their exercise ought to be removed slowly. Where a right exists today every delay is a new offense, a new affront to human dignity, a new violation of constitutional commands and moral requirements. No man can move "too fast" to claim and exercise rights inherent in citizenship.

When the white worker cries out against Negro employment, he is simply voicing his unexpressed belief that the pool of jobs must remain inadequate for full employment. The Negro job seeker who confines his quest for employment to a share in existent employment cannot dispute that charge. Similarly, the white American's resistance to a sharing of inadequate school facilities must go unanswered. The real need is for full employment and for school and other facilities that will meet the total need, and, obviously, there must be an increase in the total housing supply to meet the common need for urban shelter.

If I seem to have wandered far afield from my topic, it is only because public education and our school system cannot be assessed in isolation. The school is at once the product of our society and a factor in producing or retarding changes in that society. It cannot subserve its purpose nor serve its function by becoming the center of resistance to change or by clinging to textbooks that condition the minds of its students against

change. An educational system that produces a college-educated majority of 57 percent and a high school-educated majority of 61 percent in opposition to such simple equalitarian legislation as a fair housing ordinance deserves examination both by the community at large and by those whose teachings have produced the singular result. A teaching profession that tolerates a textbook of the kind to which I have directed your attention must, or at least ought to, produce some soul searching. Such teaching and textbooks can only produce embittered frustration in Negroes and obscure the recognition by white persons that the well being of the nation requires the entry of Negroes into the mainstream of American life, an entry that is necessary in order to effectuate reforms that will bestow common benefits on all Americans.

Ours is one of the crisis times of history, one of those moments when a nation makes a choice that will have enormous consequences for the living and the unborn. That choice is between the relegation of the majority of Negroes to the status of a permanently and chronically dependent class or lending assistance to their own attempt to secure their absorption into the body politic as productive and responsible members of an affluent society. The weight of custom and tradition lies on the side of support of the factors that have produced their isolation. Wisdom resides on the side of departure from old ways and of lending support to what we call, in shorthand, The Negro Revolution both because it comports with morality and constitutional idealism and because such support is pregnant with the promise of precipitating change that will widen opportunities for all Americans. The public school cannot dictate the choice. It can, and it should, educate the student in such a manner as to help him decide what to do, what to refrain from doing, in that crisis through an ascertainment of truth and through imparting that truth to its students.

REACTION PANEL AND AUDIENCE

Panel Members: Mrs. Carol Sibley, member of the School Board, Berkeley
Dr. Ida Huth, connected with the Industrial Relations Dept.,
University of California
Dr. Theodore Reller, Dean of the University of California School
of Education
Mr. Larry Wells, Vice-Principal of Franklin Elementary School
in Berkeley

Dr. Huth: To begin with I would like to underline something that Mr. Miller told us-- the fact that reform of the Negro's position in that a great many of us fail to realize the wider implications of what is going on. I also think it is extremely important for school people to think about the dual role of the school as a force for change and yet a tool of change.

My field of research has been in the field of training and re-training for technological change, and I have been looking very seriously at the impact of automation. There is certainly no quarrel with what Mr. Miller said about the need for full employment, and yet I have seen over and over again in my research the enormous structural adjustment that has to take place. When I see opportunities opening up, I would like to see more and more of the capable Negro applicant take these jobs and come to the forefront.

Mr. Wells: Mr. Miller made it perfectly clear that the schools in many instances are failing to prepare students, both Negro and white, to function as full citizens with equal aspirations and equal opportunities. I would like to ask Mr. Miller what he means by adequate school facilities and whether he sees compensatory education as limited primarily to Negro students?

Mr. Miller: I think compensatory education should include all students who need it. I suppose the term compensatory education has been applied to Negro students simply because they are the persons in whose cases the need has been the most observable. The need is as great for the mountain whites in Chicago or Puerto Ricans in New York. Certainly I think compensatory education is needed by many other groups.

Dr. Reller: I certainly agree with Mr. Miller's view that the Negro Revolution really opens the road for the whole of society. While we speak of it as the Negro Revolution, we may begin to see the beginnings of a revolution in other parts of our society also. The question of alienation toward society and toward many of the values of society is much more general than in the case of any particular group.

I would also subscribe to Mr. Miller's view that society must face the problem of providing for its own development and the development of all its people in a much more vigorous manner that it has in the past. Otherwise the revolution is going to be compounded. As he suggests, with a much more vigorous development, there would be much more opportunity for all people. With that development and a firming up of education, there can be a strengthening of values, of commitment.

Sometimes I think the sensitivity of many of the people in our society is dulled. Otherwise would we be providing so little in the way of educational facilities, for example, considering the enormous resources that we have. And we are not even particularly disturbed about it. I think we are not terribly disturbed about having a lot of people unemployed. The whole question of values seems to be a very fundamental one here that relates, as you have indicated, to the whole of society, with the Negro in a very real sense feeling the brunt of it and carrying a large part of the burden.

Mr. Wells: I am extremely interested in the area of compensatory education. We hear many generalities about it, but as we work with children we need more specific information on how to meet some of these problems. I would like to know if Mr. Miller can give us a few specific suggestions about things that schools can do.

Mr. Miller: I am afraid I can't do that since I am not an educator. I am not a technical expert on these problems, and I cannot offer guidance. I do not detract from these problems, but it seems to me that the larger problems, as I foresee them, are not going to be solved within the rather narrow framework of compensatory education.

A great many of the problems that seemingly confront the school are really the problems that confront society. Do what it will, and train students as well as it can, the school still cannot meet the students' problems unless society offers a place to function when school is finished. How can a student be inspired to feel he has a place in society, if he can look forward only to becoming a chronic dependent upon that society, a society in which there is a large degree of unemployment. As the school prepares a student, so must society prepare a place for him.

Dr. Reller: I would agree with this. Mr. Miller has urged the strengthening of education in every way possible, and that is what compensatory education attempts to do--to invest more resources where the need is very great. While we work with education we should not lose sight of the major issues. Compensatory education will contribute something toward their solution, but it would be a very great mistake to assume that it has within it anything like a solution to the major problem.

Mr. Miller: There is a tendency to make education a whipping-boy and to pretend that if the schools were just doing their job and if people were just trained, there wouldn't be any unemployment. This just isn't true. If everybody had a college education, certainly the composition of the unemployed mass would be raised. It might be nice if some of these unemployed persons had a college education so they could contemplate Aristotle while they were unemployed, but they would still be unemployed.

Dr. Reller: It should be clear that you are not arguing against doing everything we reasonably can do to give people every opportunity to develop the highly technical competencies and skills that would make them more employable and better citizens and more active in working to improve society.

Mrs. Sibley: I am going to interrupt the panel now in order that we may share our questions with the audience.

From the audience: Since most of the need for compensatory education and smaller classes is concentrated in certain neighborhoods, does this imply the continuation of de facto segregation?

Mr. Wells: The idea of a comprehensive school is to provide an effective education to enable a child to use whatever potentials and abilities he has to the fullest. Compensatory education tries to give a child whatever he lacks and needs in order to fulfill these objectives. I don't see that this has to be done in a segregated situation, de facto or otherwise. It can certainly be done more effectively in a situation where he can feel his worth in relationship to others.

From the audience: Should the neighborhood concept of the school be modified or drastically altered or even eliminated in order to end segregation in the schools? The neighborhood school concept in many cases supports segregation. Do we have to live with that "sacred cow" or can we change it?

Mr. Miller: We have to deal with the question of the neighborhood school--whether we want it or not. I have been trying to evade it, and I guess most everyone else has. I don't know the answer. Boards of education would have us believe that the neighborhood school is sacred, but I have news for them. There never was a neighborhood until they said, "This is it!" The neighborhood boundaries change, but in an urban setting there are some limits to where a student can be assigned to school. The poor, harassed boards of education didn't invent residential segregation which imposes limitations upon them, but they could escape more of the limitations than they do in many cases. It isn't necessary to have neighborhood schools; not all cities do--Baltimore doesn't.

From the audience: I would like to ask about the responsibility of educators and school board members for implementing the democratic idea of education within our society. Many of these individuals are responsible for perpetuating the old system, the status quo of segregation and discrimination. They will fail to make changes until there is a challenge from the community.

Mrs. Sibley: As a member of the Board of Education, I think the community should challenge the Board and the Board should respond. I think we have a Board of Education at the present time that is trying to respond. We have a long way to go. One thing we are very much interested in is in-service education in intergroup relations for teachers. We have such a program right now that involves over 130 teachers, but we are feeling more and more that everybody should be involved in it.

From the audience: I think much of our problem is from parents in the community who influence their children with their own prejudice and ignorance. What can be done to help parents realize this?

Dr. Huth: This question interests me particularly because I am a sociologist. I am learning about school patterns and neighborhoods. I want to clarify the question a bit so that we can explore it. When you speak of the attitude of parents, do you mean white parents or Negro parents?

From the audience: I mean parents in general--parents of all races. They influence their children directly and indirectly, making a lasting impression on their children, and I think the education of parents is much more important than the education of the children.

Mr. Miller: Well, I guess education of parents is what is needed. The educators have been telling me ever since I can remember that we should just leave it to the schools to do this job. But I am dismayed at what a poor job the schools have done, as far as eliminating prejudice is concerned, chiefly I think because the textbooks are so awful. The textbooks for history are particularly poor. For example, the phrase, "the first white man" is repeated over and over again in elementary history books and it always implies white man's superiority by indirection since there is no mention of any other group. Also, the happy, contented slave idea is constantly stressed. As I mentioned, in one textbook only 11 Negroes were mentioned, including Joe Lewis and Jessie Owens. Can you imagine this as a serious textbook in history? It is easy enough to say the trouble is with parents, but I think textbooks bear a great deal of blame. Did you ever see a cute little Negro kid playing in the illustrations of a primary textbook? After Negro children go through 12 years of seeing only white children in their textbooks, I know what they think. This is insidious!

Mrs. Sibley: Dr. Reller, do you feel that our texts will soon come up to our expectations of them?

Dr. Reller: I think some substantial change and progress is being made in texts to overcome some of these difficulties, at least in some parts of the country. I don't differ primarily with the point of view that Mr. Miller has expressed, but I would emphasize a little more the role played by parents and community forces in the education of children. To a very substantial degree I think children do get values from those with whom they are very intimately associated--from their homes, their parents. Therefore, while I would like to see the books and other matters corrected in the school, I would also like to suggest the idea that as we have more time in an affluent society that we recognize that the education of adults might move forward concurrently with the education of children. I would have more hope about the changes we might effect through the school if at the same time we were working with the adults in our society.

From the audience: How do we get the people who need it to come for an education? How can citizens precipitate the kind of expanding ferment that will cause communities to rate education as a continuing process from 6 months to 90 years?

From the audience: There seems to be two kinds of history, the white man's history and the Negro history. Can we just shove them together and make it one U. S. history?

From the audience: I would like to add something to the idea of putting together a Negro and white man's history. Perhaps we need also to include Indians and others who were a very real part of history, include their viewpoint and not just that of the white man.

Mr. Miller: There is only one history really, and I think the departmentalization of history into white man's history and Negro history, etc., is a great mistake. Because the Negro is excluded from history books, the reflexive attitude is to have Negro history, and this distorts the Negro's contribution to history in one direction as much as his exclusion distorts it in another. Obviously the contributions of all people should be included in the teaching of American history. There should be only one history and it should be accurate and fair to all people.

From the audience: I would like to make the observation that there are too few Negroes involved in the mainstream of American life, too few involved in women's organizations and men's organizations of the community. I think their participation would help greatly in the education of children's values.

Mr. Wells: It is vital that each child that walks into our school be able to identify with that school, its purposes and goals. The child will decide whether textbooks and everything around him--what we may call the school culture--is for him or whether it is not. If he is eliminated in terms of the materials that he uses, then he feels rejected and this feeling affects his rapport with his teachers. It is vital for every child, regardless of his race, to feel a part of school and society in order to be projected into the real mainstream of life.

Mrs. Sibley: I would like also to comment on Negroes not being involved in the mainstream of organizations. Recently I attended a conference of Negro women, and I think they feel there is so much to do with their own people they do not have time to be working in integrated groups. I think this self segregation is a characteristic of the present period of time. We should try to understand it and do what we can to support them and look ahead to the time when things will be different.

From the audience: Is part of the problem of textbooks due to the fact they are published for national consumption and won't sell south of a certain line unless they are very carefully written?

Answer: Yes!

From the audience: Adults are educated to a considerable extent by the newspapers they read, the TV they watch, the radio they listen to, or the movies they go to see--by mass media, not by adult education courses. What is our responsibility to change the mass media?

From the audience: I would like to hear some discussion of efforts toward better integration of education and knowledge. There is so much emphasis on science to the neglect of the humanities that this civilization is apt to see the strange spectacle of a few white men being transported to the moon long before the black man is delivered from Mississippi.

Mr. Miller: I am inclined to agree that there is a great problem in the gap between our scientific knowledge on the one hand and our inability to solve the problems of humanity on the other. It is almost incomprehensible that we should have the vast knowledge we have of atomic energy and yet be unable to solve the problems of inter-personal and human relations.

Dr. Reller: This is a very real problem, and it goes back again in part to our values-our commitments. We have invested substantially more in certain lines than in others. We need to achieve a better balance. As a people, and as teachers, we need to stand back and take a look at values and the kind of society we wish to develop. We have not faced this problem, as a people, nearly as directly as we shall need to do.

Mr. Wells: I think science is much easier to deal with than our interpersonal relations and attitudes. These are extremely difficult things for us to reckon with. We never seem willing to face a situation until there is some kind of crisis. I think the Negro Revolt is forcing us to take a look at ourselves, at the situation and our society and to accept the necessity of dealing with realities.

From the audience: Does Mr. Miller really believe that this capitalist society in which we live can really grant civil rights to the Negro people within the next two or three hundred years?

Mr. Miller: Yes, I think that racial prejudice could be eliminated from a capitalist society, because I am not at all committed to the proposition that racial prejudice is a necessary property of a capitalist society. For example, Australia which was under a socialist rule for a long time was lily white. You could argue from that that racial exclusion was a property of the socialist society, but that wasn't true either. This is over-simplification. Actually, in many capitalist societies you do not find the persistence of racial prejudice.

From the audience: Mr. Miller made the point that from a particular victimized group in the American society, a revolution has arisen, the so-called Negro Revolution and that its potential is relevant to the whole of society. I would like to ask Mr. Miller what proportion of the Negro leadership on the one hand, and of the Negro masses, using the term very loosely, tend to feel this way?

Mr. Miller: I am not sure how wide-spread this feeling is among the participants in the Negro Revolution. I sometimes think that the majority of participants are so absorbed with the idea of gaining their own rights that they do not see beyond to the broader implications. There are many, although a minority, that do. I think this is true of many social reforms and social reformers. They start with limited objectives, and only as the movement proceeds do the broader implications become apparent. Some of them want to keep their movement limited and would now object to the broader implications because they would be unpopular and would make things more difficult for them.

Dr. Reller: It is an extreme position to imply that all or most teachers in the past have not been aware of some of the problems of our society and grappled with them. Certainly we must recognize the problems of developing a teaching staff of high ability, etc., particularly until there is a change in conditions and the attitudes of society toward teachers. On the one hand there is more attention being given to sociology and some of the problems of society, and yet on the other hand there are forces which would give less attention to them. I am fairly optimistic about strengthening the quality of the programs for preparation and in-service training of teachers. We are bringing into teaching more people of high competence, but we have not solved the problem of having enough highly mature teachers with understanding and the ability to work with young people

It is a problem of society itself and the value it places upon education, the profession of teaching, as well as the situation it creates for teachers.

OUR NEED FOR HUMAN UNDERSTANDING

Dr. Paul Lawrence
Associate Supt. of Public
Instruction for the State
of California

Today one cannot pick up a newspaper or listen to a news broadcast without becoming acutely aware that school desegregation is stirring national emotions perhaps more strongly than anything short of an international crisis of world war proportions. The resultant concern differs depending where the subject is being discussed. It is brutal, uncompromising with tragic reactions such as in Birmingham or in Princess Ann. Sometimes it is subtle and demeaning and disheartening as in some of our California communities. One thing is certain, the public cannot turn away its concern from these issues, despite the efforts of individual groups to focus attention on other social problems, because all social problems--economic, welfare, dropouts--all are seen at their maximum among people who are a minority because of their racial, ethnic, or religious background.

Reasons why the public will not be distracted are many. Our Latin, African and Asian friends look askance at what we do and cannot hear what we say. Our ingenuity multiplies products from farms and factories, and yet our job opportunities are shrinking daily. Our expenditures for education are irritating tax payers, and yet we are expected to produce greater results among our youth, so that they can read faster and are going to be, hopefully, more apt in their handling of basic problems.

But despite these concerns, the nation's number one problem is still: what do we do with minorities who are in our midst? I am impressed that, with your Enlightenment Series, you are attempting to face this problem and come up with some answers that will be of help to us all, in this community and in others. I don't need to tell you about the facts of desegregation or segregation. You know them as well as I. I personally do not think that segregation or desegregation is the major problem, for even if by some miracle every school in every community in the nation could be desegregated over night, our basic problems as parents and teachers would still remain. The big problem is that of providing equality of educational opportunities.

Specifically, I think the problem is one of determining and finding ways to help the people we keep referring to as culturally different to become freely and fully first class citizens in an American democracy. And so my task this evening is to discuss education of minority youth as one specific instance of the broad basic problem which I mentioned.

Some of you know that I served as educational consultant to the Pepsi Cola Scholarship Board from 1946 to 1948. During those years the Pepsi Cola Scholarship Board was convinced that it had a civic responsibility, not only to employ individuals to manufacture and distribute goods, but to support the training and preparation of exceptionally able young people who were limited by financial difficulties and were unlikely to go on to college. Among my tasks I had the specific assignment of aiding in the counseling and discovery of Negro youths who attended secondary schools in the 17 southern states and the District of Columbia. Later on when I returned to California in 1949, I had the privilege of serving the Southern Field Project of the National Scholarship Service out of which came the first "horizons". Both these projects involved my counseling of these youths who were considered minority or culturally different, and I shall be drawing heavily upon both experiences as I attempt to point out some of the things you might bring into focus for yourselves.

As I look about me, I can see that at least half of you do not belong to the group who are described as culturally different. And perhaps because you are not, you can scarcely understand the many dimensions of the problems faced by a youngster who is considered culturally different. You may see him as a potential dropout, a slow learner, an unduly apathetic, hostile or aggressive individual. You may see him as an oddity, a

special case in your own environment. Do you really know what he is like? Do you really know why you see him as you do? Do you really know what you see? I cannot tell you, because I cannot see the culturally different child you do.

I would like to share with you a sociologist's classification of American society in order that we might have some common ground for our thinking, and this classification is a compilation of what many sociologists have said. People who analyze the American structure usually divide society into 6 classes: the Upper-upper, the lower-upper, the upper-middle, the lower-middle, the upper-lower, and the lower-lower.

In a typical community, the upper class constitutes about 1% of the population. This class is composed of old families born to their position. These are the aristocrats; their families show them to be the products of generations of upper class living. The lower-upper class constitutes about 2% of the population; these are the newly rich. They see themselves transforming their money into acceptable behavior to participate with those who are already at the top level.

Next comes the upper-middle class who constitute about 11% of the population. Members of this class are sometimes referred to as "the pillars of society". These are the successful men and women; these are the real decision makers in the community. They do things, and they see that things get done. The 28% of our society, just below this group, is the lower-middle class--the small trades people, the skilled workers, the white-collared workers, teachers, social workers. I guess most of you, and certainly I, would be in that class.

Below the middle class we find the lower class, the so-called "little people". These form 33% of the population. They are the poor but respectable workers. They hope to do better than they are doing, but they are insecure and always fearful of falling into the class just below them. And the class into which they do not wish to fall is that 25% of society which we characterize as the lower-lower class. It is the bottom of the socio-economic status. The members of this latter group are often looked upon by the other classes as being shiftless and ignorant, and frequently they are described in even less complimentary terms.

The tendency in our society is to place great stress upon the piling up of capital goods. A child-centered relationship, cleanliness, respect for law and order, being careful not to lose one's temper, a good education especially as it relates to success--these values are found in the middle class group. On the other hand, the people in the lower class have a tendency to spend material goods immediately. They have to, if they are going to survive. The family is not likely to be child-centered. In some instances, just a few, cleanliness is not even stressed. Rather than respect for law and order, often you will find that opportunism is the characteristic attitude, together with a very high value placed upon physical prowess, aggressive techniques, the ability to fight. In this lower class rare is the notion that education may be helpful in improving one's status. It is thought that the person who becomes too educated will be a misfit in this lower class community.

Now let us take a look at this stratification and see what it means, as it relates to our culturally different youngsters and their education. You can eliminate the children who are in the upper class, because most of them attend private schools. Most middle class and upper-lower class, however, send their children to the public schools.

Since 58% of our population is in the lower class as compared to 39% in the middle class, it is obvious then that most children in school probably come from lower socio-economic backgrounds. It has nothing to do with race, religion, or color; this is just a statement of fact. However, the schools are middle class oriented with middle class curriculum, taught by middle class teachers, administered and supervised by middle class specialists. It could hardly be otherwise, since the people who determine the role of the public school are themselves, generally members of the middle class.

There is a saying among educators which goes something like this, "We try to direct and assist each child that he may have the opportunity to achieve to the extent of his ability."

It would be expected, then, that each child would receive equal teaching, as well as sympathetic, fair and enlightened treatment, but the diverse segments, the diverse background of large areas of our school population make it evident that what is considered skilled teaching, relative to one child, may not apply to another. Moreover, most of us who teach seldom seriously face problems of cultural diversity. What is considered sympathetic, fair and enlightened teaching depends entirely upon one's individual background. Our backgrounds, our value systems are the products of our own cultural, socio-economic status. There, in my experience, I have found that administrators, teachers and parents too have been rather lax in taking into account all of the factors of cultural diversity, and because they have failed to do so, many of the students have not achieved as much as they might have.

Our roles in education, I believe, are crucial if the problems of cultural diversity are going to be dealt with successfully. We who work with young people must face up realistically to the fact that we must understand our own feelings about group differences before we can establish any rapport with these youngsters who come from the lower socio-economic group I mentioned earlier. Why do I say this? It is very simple. Youngsters from the lower class are quick to sense insincerity or unfairness in adults, and it is immediately reflected in their behavior, because, as I told you, they react much more quickly. I know this has been proved: that many children who come from the lower-lower levels would rather fail than accept the help of an adult, a teacher or a school administrator whom they do not like or who they feel does not like them.

Another thing, the people in this lower level of the socio-economic scale simply do not view education as most middle class families do. In the past at least, and even today, there is a tendency to believe that quitting school and earning enough money through hard work is superior to getting an education and holding down a white collar job. One reason is that a white collar person, such as a teacher, today averages about \$4.20 an hour, and there are some plumbers and electricians around the Bay Area who are now getting as much as \$7.56 an hour, at least overtime. I know, because I just had experience with one.

Parents in the lower group are likely to be disinterested in school and to provide little stimulation at home to prepare their children for the kinds of experiences that lead to success in school work. And so, for some of the youngsters who come from these lower class families, to conform to school values would not be to conform to family values. In working with such youngsters you can see there might be special problems and challenges that would require special understanding on our part.

I would like to try to illustrate for you ways in which we tend to overlook the potential of the culturally different child because we see only the obvious thing: he looks different. The average counselor in a school takes for granted generally that the surface indicates whatever lies below the surface, and therefore he never really establishes a rapport that is essential for dealing with a youngster in a guidance situation. A concerned counselor probes beneath the surface as much as possible to find what it is that a child brings to school. Let me give you an example.

When I first did my practice teaching in 1934, I discovered one thing that guided me all my life. My first day in this school was an odd one. As I entered and walked down the hall, I realized that the signs on the walls were in Italian. This was an Italian neighborhood, and when mother and father did decide to come to school, they could better understand the signs written in Italian. This was the first lesson I learned.

In those days, a practice teacher just started teaching, while the principal sat in the back of the class. By ten o'clock I had finished a very fine lesson--at least I thought so at the age of twenty. I couldn't account for the fact a little girl in the second row had fallen asleep. The second day the same thing happened, and the third day. I finally asked my supervisor what was wrong with Martha. Now, a good teacher never gives you the answer. She said, "Mr. Lawrence, I would suggest that during your lunch period you go find out". And so I did. I went over to meet the Rigossi family and talked with Mrs. Rigossi. We managed to understand each other reasonably well. What I learned was this: every morning, whereas you and I would have a glass of milk or a cup of coffee,

Martha had a glass of Italian wine. At school all she was doing was sleeping it off. I learned something then which has stuck with me for a long time; I learned what she was bringing to school with her. This is what I am trying to get across to you. I think it is extremely important that those who teach should get to the point of knowing what it is that their youngsters bring to school with them, because it is only then a teacher can go ahead and work with any success.

During 1939 and early months of 1940, Edward Singer, who was connected with the Union Mining Company of the Belgian Congo, secretly, on his own, shipped to the United States 1000 tons of pitch belend, which is the waste material after radium has been extracted. Over in Belgian Congo there were millions of tons, left as waste after radium had been removed. Then somebody found in that waste material another item called uranium. When the Manhattan Project became very important and there was need for a quick supply of uranium, someone remembered the waste pile in an old warehouse in New York City, material shipped over by Edward Singer on his own. And suddenly the great piles of waste material in the Congo became an extremely valuable commodity greatly needed by our nation.

I would say that among these youngsters who are culturally different, who are shunted to the side, there is a great human resource, if someone can find a way to extract it. We think of dropouts and under-educated, culturally different children as waste, but there is much of value to be found. The discovery of hidden potentials among these youths will not occur by happenstance; it will take work.

Meeting the needs of the culturally different youngster is now recognized as accepted part of our educational process. Right here in this community you are working on an experimental program to see how well you too mine the hidden potential of these children. You are doing it at an early stage, for which I am grateful. I think it is time for us to use every means so that not only teachers and parents, but everybody--prospective employers, administrators, etc., can have a better understanding of what it is that might be found, of what values exist among these youngsters who are culturally different. We have a responsibility first to understand, then to give facts and help those who need to understand. It has been demonstrated in my own experience time and time again that when the American public understands and is given the proper information and facts, they can be depended upon to support plans and action that is good for the nation and the general welfare.

My scholarship experience leads to another observation, that you cannot use the same approaches, the same methods, and the same techniques for working with all youth, whether of the same or of different cultural patterns. It is easy to think of people in terms of stereotypes. I have a habit of being personal, but I think it helps to illustrate a point sometimes. I was the oldest child of a rather large family. For a time my mother was quite ill, and since my father was a minister, we couldn't afford a maid, so I had to learn to cook. After the first rather awful experiences, I gained a reputation as a reasonably good cook, and by the time I was a senior in high school, people knew I could cook. When it came time for me to talk with my counselor, and I had all of a couple of hours of counseling during my schooling, she gave me this guidance, "Paul, you don't have to worry; you can cook. And so when you get out of high school, there is no question that you will be able to make \$125 a month." That was all she had to say to me. Now the funny thing is, she was very sincere--a good Negro cook could make money. But she didn't know that I was to struggle through four years at a state teacher's college and come out to teach at \$120 a month.

I maintain that there is an unfortunate tendency to equate socio-economic status and potential ability with the racial background of individuals. It is true that a larger percentage of certain ethnic groups, Mexicans and Negroes for instance, may be found in the lower class. There are a number of reasons for this. However, it would be a mistake to treat all in such groups as if they came from a single background. We see this in the strong tendency to automatically recommend culturally different young people for assignment to general curriculum patterns unlikely to prepare them for further education or for a job in the future. Now this is changing. Why is it changing? Well, let me give you some indications.

The outward mobility of many Negroes to middle class status since World War I is quite significant. Depending upon the class, members of minority groups hold the same values as members of majority groups. If anything, middle class minorities are likely to adhere more rigidly to middle class standards. They are just as eager to have their children go to college as are middle class Caucasian families. Rightly or wrongly there is as much criticism among these groups of the teaching and counseling their children get in school as there is among other groups. One difference may be seen in that respect. Usually the members of minority groups complain, in addition, that counselors deliberately assign their children to terminal courses rather than to courses for college bound students. Although a greater percentage of members of certain ethnic groups fall within the lower class, it is my feeling that any program designed to ease cultural gaps should be directed to meet the needs, not only of the culturally different children, but of all lower class children including white ones. Why do I say that?

Southern Mountaineers for example have been moving into Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan to find work. They come from West Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee. Their religion is Protestant. Racially they are the purest Anglo-Saxons found in America. But their children have a difficult time adjusting to the new environment. A sociologist has reported that both the adults and their children are considered retarded educationally by urban standards. They score surprisingly low on I.Q. tests. Readiness to drop out of school is to be expected of most of them. On the average, so says Roscoe Griffin, only about 15% of the children from Eastern Kentucky who enter first grade ever graduate from high school. These people who are white, Protestant, full-stock Americans find themselves the victims of discrimination. They, too, are culturally different. The evidence points to the fact that careful detailed approaches must be made with each youngster who finds his problem of growing up magnified because he does come from a different culture.

I want to mention something else that stems from my experience with the two scholarship services, and that is the use of tests in trying to say that the test score indicates that a child is this, that, or the other thing. We used many tests many times in the scholarship program, and if we had relied upon the norms as established by the publishers, we would never have helped a single student to gain a college scholarship. You might be interested in knowing that we enabled about 9,000 students to receive more than one and one-half million dollars in scholarships in the time that I worked with this group.

Why do I say this and feel this way about tests? Publishers speak about the national norm. It encourages people who don't know, to believe that one can compare a student against a national average or norm. This is impossible. It would be better to state, "Here is a sampling for this test." Let it go at that. Why? Well, let me tell you how tests are made.

Having lived in Princeton not far from A.T.S., I had some experience, and then I used their college boards on my trips throughout the country. This is what happens. Let's say there is a fairly normal distribution of academic ability among all the 12 year olds in the Nation. The scores obtained by a random sampling of the boys and girls in this group could be used to compute a true national norm on an academic test for 12 year olds. But publishers do not ordinarily obtain a random sampling of these youngsters because: 1) the children with lowest ability aren't in school, and it is not practical to test outside of the school. So it cuts off the very bottom of the distribution, which leaves a national norm for 12 year old children who do attend school. Now this would be fine, except for the fact that one-third of the schools do shrink from the idea of being compared with a more privileged school district. So the publisher cuts off the distribution of talent by eliminating all of those schools which are too poor to buy tests. What we have left is a sampling of children who are in schools that use tests. Even this isn't used correctly.

Test publishers for economic reasons seek to have their stanardizations partially paid for by the sale of the test material at reduced prices. They often do this; they offer to sell the test to a school for the cost of printing, if in turn the school will give the results back to the publishers so that he can compute the norm. So as a result, the norms are based on children in schools that use tests and that are willing to buy these

particular tests. But that's not the end. In order to get a sample that is large enough to impress the public, or larger than a competitor's sample, most publishers seek to sell these tests to large school systems. A test run in a city with 7,000 twelve year olds is less costly than a test run in a number of communities with from 2 to 500 twelve year olds. So here we have national norms based upon twelve year olds in schools, in schools that use tests, in schools that will buy this particular test, mostly in cities with a population of 100,000 or more. What the publisher obtains from that test, even if he samples it carefully, is hardly an instrument designed for use in counseling a child whose cultural background is limited.

Perhaps you read Izzy Pidnick's statement in the Chronicle about a month ago concerning children living just across the Bay who were taken by school bus across the Golden Gate Bridge for the first time so they could see a farm, so that they could see some animals on the farm. Yet some of these tests that have been used have many concepts that would be beyond a youngster who has never been out of the city. I think we have a professional obligation to understand the significance, the suitability, and the needs of these young people with whom we work.

I only have time to make one more observation, and I would like to say this: I think you really have a stirring challenge in your efforts to become more enlightened. I think you become more enlightened as you work among people, particularly when you have found a way to deal with the different attitudes and emotional states which these utterly different people have. You probably noticed that I have some difficulty using the word "minorities". To me the use of the word "minorities", needs to be reexamined. I ask myself these questions: Does it imply something less than good? Does it imply something that isn't quite approved? Something that's just a little below par? Something that's lacking? Is there a hidden connotation in the word which traps the person so designated, so that he has a feeling of minority consciousness or inferiority. This is why I hesitate to use the word "minorities". One of these days I'm going to come up with the answer myself, and I don't think I will use the word much longer, I'll tell you why.

Some culturally different people feel forced to express strong group consciousness through militant action, racial pride, and compensating efforts through an out and out competition with a dominant group. They do this in many ways, sometimes by really knocking heads or sometimes withdrawing completely and trying to be self-sufficient in and of themselves. Now this does a number of things. It inhibits thought and aspiration. It limits activities and creativeness, and it does something else. It tends to downgrade the conception that these people, who are pushed aside, have of themselves and of their group. It isn't enough to say to these youngsters who are culturally different, "Look, the door is open, come on in." Because they want to know what is behind that door. That door has been opened too many times "to nowhere" in the past. I can't tell you how to become enlightened about this. It is something you have to do for yourself. This is something that you have to become aware of by yourself.

Perhaps these things I have pointed out may explain to you why there is stirring throughout the nation today, why so many, many groups of young people are moving, pushing or withdrawing. They aren't doing it to be antagonistic. They are doing it, because they are trying to find a way. I believe we will have to understand more about our own attitudes, so that we may help them find which way they must go.

I would like to finish by reading to you a portion of a speech delivered by a Commissioner of Education, Dr. Francis Keppel. He said this before almost 29,000 people. He made a statement, and from where I sat, I saw many a head jerk up in astonishment. I want to read exactly what he said. "But in spite of all the difficulties, I say, 'Thank God for the Civil Rights Movement!' It provides the very opportunity we have been looking for. For years we have talked of the disinterest and the apathy of lower class parents. We have argued that we cannot teach their children, because they aren't interested in education, and because their parents have not taught them to be interested. But, now out in Civil Rights Movement we are learning differently. We are learning that many of these parents are interested and have finally found a way to express their interest. In the past they rejected the schools and all that we have to offer, because they had no hope that education was really for them. Today, however, they see a hope that the schools

can be an instrument for the fulfillment of their aspirations. If we cannot deal creatively with this motivation for which we have looked so long, if once again we turn down this hope and turn these people to despair, it will be the tragedy of our time. If we intend to be truly creative, to bring equality of educational opportunity to these children, it is clear that we must move on the crest of the wave instead of losing ourselves in the troughs. We must discard for all time, a cluster of misunderstandings in this begotten mess which have been standing in the way of progress.

Now I would like to give you three of these myths so that you can toss them out of the window with other things as you do your thinking. The first of these myths is this: That the children of our slums are of a lower order than the children of other sectors of our economy. That's the first myth. We perpetuate this myth when we label these children as culturally deprived, disadvantaged, culturally underprivileged and handicapped. Now these labels generally describe the socio-economic backgrounds from which these children come, but far too often we use these labels as alibis for our failures to find ways to educate these children. That's myth No. 1.

The second myth is this! That these children are not merely difficult to teach but are virtually unteachable. It is true that they come from families of low educational attainment, that their homes do lack books and other incentives to learning, that they come to school without middle class endowments, but we cannot, we dare not continue to use this jury recital as an excuse for poor schools and ineffective education.

The final myth is this: There is a belief that these children can hardly hope for high academic achievement, and that the best we can do is to send them along to the dumping ground that so many of our vocational training schools have been made. Now this is a double edged slur. It is a slur against modern vocational education which increasingly requires basic academic skills for any hope of success. And, it is a slur against the children who deserve more than detours from education. Let me tell you how important vocational education is. Why do you suppose it is California, that has the bulk of the aircraft communications and electronic activities that the rest of the states throughout the nation look for with a great deal of longing? Simply because here in this state, we have provided many kinds of vocational opportunities principally through our junior colleges. You can talk to the men surveying from Philco, Ansco and the rest of them and ask them why they like to locate their factories in certain parts of California. They want to be near a source of people who can get the training necessary for the work. And so vocational education is important. With respect to the idea that these youngsters can't learn, I would like to recite one last episode of my experience with the culturally different youngster.

I was sent down to Atlanta, Georgia one day to look over a youngster who was found in the junior high school. His teachers thought he was a very able youngster, as I indicated, his test scores didn't show so. I met this fellow. He wasn't much to look at--big floppy ears and sort of a curious look, but he was always asking questions. His father was dead and I guess his mother just couldn't answer them all and neither could his teachers as a matter of fact. It was thought that he did have something, and it was agreed that in Atlanta he could not get the kind of education that such curiosity demanded.

So Phillips Institute in New Hampshire said, "let's take him and see what we can do". They took him. He started in September--this little boy from Georgia rubbing shoulders with many youngsters coming from many of the upper-upper class families in the New England area and he did a poor job. By Christmas it was agreed that he should go home for Christmas and stay home. But the semester isn't over until after Christmas and in all fairness you've got to let a person at least take his finals. He took his finals and still wasn't any good but, again, you don't send a person home in the middle of the year especially on an experiment. And so we agreed to let him stay until summer, then he could go home and we'd all be happy. By summer, he wasn't doing much better. I guess you'd say a D+ or a C-, but the spark was still there. The curiosity was still there and so was the determination, someone said, "Nat if you will go somewhere and get some help in reading and the other things that you need this summer, we might give you a chance to come back". Well, he did. I'll make the story very short. Nat came

back. He worked hard with his parents, with his teachers, anybody in the community who would give him a helping hand. He worked with them and his mother. What happened was 3 years later when graduation time came at Phillips Exeter, who was the ranking student? Nat Lemar. Who was cox'n of the crew? Nat Lemar. Here a little boy from Georgia who 3 years earlier didn't know that you used anything but a rowboat to cross a river, had been serving as Cox'n of the crew on an 8 oared shell. Not only that, but at graduation time, Harvard University gave him its largest undergraduate scholarship. Four years later he was grand master of his class at Harvard which I understand is tantamount of being the very top student. He didn't stop there. This same boy received a Henry Fellowship for Oxford University and he came back to Harvard to work on his Ph.D. in English. You know what he's doing now? McGraw-Hill Publishers, publishers of some of the outstanding books in English, have on their staff this fellow by the name of Nat Lemar editing their books in English.

You see what can happen if somebody takes a chance, if somebody stops long enough to see what it is that they have to work with?

As I said when I started, I wasn't going to tell you anything that you didn't already know. But, I was going to try to focus your attention on ways of pulling what you know together so that you can go out of here tonight much more enlightened. Because the fellow who sits next to you, the fellow who's down by the bay side, and the fellow who's up on the hill all have things in common. And, much of what they have in common is very good if we just dig hard enough to find and to understand what it is that they have. Thank you.

QUESTION PERIOD

Dr. Paul Lawrence
Feb. 27, 1964

From the audience: I would like to ask Dr. Lawrence which he feels is more important: the elimination of de facto segregation from the schools or compensatory education.

Dr. Lawrence: I don't think it is a matter of either-or; both are segments of the same problem. Both segregation in the schools and the fact that some of our youngsters who have been deprived are not using their full capabilities would indicate that the United States is not using its human resources to the capacity needed. If I were offered certain money and asked to choose between busing children across town in order to get rid of segregated schools or to have compensatory education, I wouldn't make that kind of choice. If a problem requires a two-pronged approach, then let's have it.

From the audience: Do dropouts really start early in the school curriculum?

Dr. Lawrence: I believe this very strongly, and so does the Governor's Committee on Compensatory Education. We believe that even at the kindergarten or first grade level, the school is already beginning to lose some children to the dropout group.

You may be interested in something that is being done in Fresno. We have moved a pre-school right onto the high school playground, and in this pre-school are 22 children in each of two classes. They have a regular trained child worker and parent help, but the interesting thing is that the junior and senior year boys and girls have as their class responsibility a portion of the care and training of these pre-school youngsters. They can't do it by volunteering to do it; they have to earn the right to do it. They have to know how to read and comprehend well, so they can read and tell stories to children. They have to know how to work well with children and how to teach them games.

These young people come to school one extra hour a day--a half hour in the morning and a half hour at night. But it has become an honor to be able to help with these children, as much of an honor as earning a letter at football, track or music.

The director of the pre-school was telling me the other day about a side effect that may prove to be very worthwhile. In this community where early marriages are common, the high school boys and girls are realizing how much is involved in caring for children, and they say they are going to postpone marriage for a little while.

To answer your question specifically, if we can get to these deprived youngsters before any attitudes begin to form, then we feel reasonably sure we can reduce the dropouts. Even the government is beginning to put more money into child care centers to help combat the dropout problem.

From the audience: What is the possibility for significant state support for compensatory education?

Dr. Lawrence: When we testified before the Legislature last year, we had to sit before the Ways and Means Committee and answer all kinds of questions. One of the questions was this, "You are asking for \$24 for each of the youngsters in the McAteer program, and you believe that if it gives the results you want, it should be extended right across the board? And if it works, it would mean an expenditure of \$16-million a year, according to the figures you gave of potential dropouts?" When we answered affirmatively, the Legislative Analyst said that the State couldn't afford the extra \$16-million.

But we had pointed out earlier in our testimony that the State right now pays between \$3500 and \$4000 a year to keep one person in jail or a corrective institution of any kind or in a mental hospital. And a Senator leaned over and he said, "If your \$24 a year per child produces results, in 1965 when this project is over, I will be the one to introduce the bill so that all potential dropouts will be taken care of." We do believe that the extra money will come from the State.

From the audience: Isn't it true that the vicious cycle you spoke of is more applicable to the South?

Dr. Lawrence: I think I indicated that this problem is basically one of class. Those who are not Negroes or Mexicans can probably move rapidly from one class to another--if they get enough money or if they get enough education. They aren't held back by the fact that no matter how much money or education they get, they still look different. This is the first thing to be remembered: it is the way people look which affects the way many people react.

The second and more important thing is that we must forget that we look different from anyone else. If you think of the dignity and worth of a person, you forget completely what he looks like. The strength of this nation has not come from one skin or color. Since this continent was discovered, there have been many threads of color in the people involved. I like to think of myself as an American. I like to think that the problems that I deal with as an educator are the problems of this nation, regardless of race.

There are many, many people scattered throughout all sections of this country who think as I do and who, in their own way, are trying to make their attitude felt. It is not an easy, nor common thing to do. But when a representative of the national government can say, "Thank God for the civil rights movement", this is an indication that people are looking beyond color and national differences, and seeing what people are really like.

(In response to a question from the audience)

Dr. Lawrence: In my bureau of the Department of Education of the State there is the Commission on Equal Opportunities for Education, charged by the Legislature years ago with helping Negro, Mexican and Jewish teachers to find jobs. That was its sole responsibility. The 1963 Legislature said that in addition this commission would have the added responsibility to stand in readiness to assist all school districts that want to have help in removing de facto segregation. Our staff has added three persons this year with the sole purpose of aiding school districts. We don't go in and tell people what they have to do, because the Legislature has said that assistance has to be requested, but we have at the present time, more requests for help than we can adequately meet.

(In response to a question from the audience)

Dr. Lawrence: I am happy to be alive, because I think I am a part of the movement towards better understanding. There are new pages being written in history which include people like you and me and so many others. Everything that I can do to be part of this movement makes me happy.

URBAN CHANGE AND A UNIVERSITY COMMUNITY

The Story of Chicago's Hyde Park-Kenwood, 1949-1964

April 2, 1964

Muriel Beadle

My assignment is to tell you the story of the massive effort that has been made in the past 15 years to rehabilitate the city neighborhood of which the University of Chicago is a part, and to stabilize it as an inter-racial community of high standards.

The obvious reason for inviting me here is that the program committee of the Berkeley Community Enlightenment Series believes that the Chicago experience may have pertinence for this community. Perhaps it does have, but I must say at the start that you will have to find the points of relevance yourselves--for I know nothing in detail about your situation here.

It stands to reason that Berkeley has problems arising from urban blight, residential segregation, segregated schools, and racial tension--because all American cities have these problems today. But whether slums and crime are as big a problem for you as they were for the University of Chicago community; whether the organizational framework exists here for energizing a massive citizen effort in behalf of a specific program of community betterment; whether the University of California, a public institution, does or can provide leadership and resources comparable to those provided by the University of Chicago, a private institution--all these facts are unknown to me.

I am also unsure as to how well informed this audience is as to the history of land-use patterns in American cities, the techniques of block-busting, the relationship between financing purchases of property and residential segregation, and why slums are profitable. Those of you who know all about these matters will therefore find some of my remarks boring, and I apologize in advance. You won't even be in the happy position of viewers of a slide show, able to take a quick nap under cover of darkness.

In having me recount this story for you, however, you are getting a major benefit--lack of bias. Since I don't know your situation, I cannot tailor my remarks to endorse or reject the position of any local group or interests. Since my husband and I came from Chicago long after the renewal and conservation program in the University community was initiated, we were not ourselves emotionally involved in the various controversies that have marked its history and can be more objective than those who were deeply engaged in it from the beginning. Finally, it has been my good fortune to have become active in a number of community groups, and I am not even in the position of being a slavish defender of the University--which, as I'm sure is true in Berkeley too, is the focus of ambivalent feelings on the part of the citizenry. They are proud of it and appreciate its contribution to the community, but at the same time they resent its position of dominance and power.

With that much preamble, here goes.

My story begins a little over 100 years ago, when the village of Hyde Park lay well outside the city limits of Chicago alongside Lake Michigan and about eight miles south of the city's core. It was a section that today would be called exurbia. There were farms, country estates, summer cottages, a resort hotel, convenient train service to the city, clean air, open country, water sports.

The great Chicago fire of 1871 stimulated the first building boom. Families who had been burned out of houses in the heart of the city built huge mansions in a section adjacent to Hyde Park, and north of it, called Kenwood. Later, the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 triggered a second building boom in the area, for the fair grounds were located on the east border of Hyde Park; and the carnival or fun zone, the Midway Plaisance, later became a broad grassy parkway that is now the southern border of Hyde Park.

A year before the World's Fair opened, the University of Chicago opened its doors. It had been established by the American Baptist Education Society, a pledge of \$600,000 by John D. Rockefeller having been matched by \$400,000 from Chicago Baptists. It had a hard-driving president in William Rainey Harper, physically a small man but in character and philosophy a man of such towering stature that one senses his presence on the campus even today.

Although the University has had many kinds of leadership over the years, has made its share of the mistakes that any human institution makes, has had the ups and downs that every university experiences, it has never lost the character that William Rainey Harper gave it. It prizes freedom of inquiry, encourages rational argument, is strongly oriented toward research and experimentation. For all these reasons, it has a liberal rather than a conservative reputation.

The majority of the faculty have always lived within a mile of the campus, and still do. Their stake in the community, as residents of it, is an important fact for you to keep in mind--for the University of Chicago is unique among urban universities in this regard. I don't know how many of the Berkeley faculty live within walking distance of the campus, but I suspect that it's much smaller than Chicago's 90% in the old days and 70% today.

From its beginning and through the 1920's, Hyde Park and its adjacent Kenwood were predominantly upper-class, wealthy, Republican, white Anglo Saxon Protestant--with an intellectual tone, a vein of liberalism supplied by the University faculty and members of the professions who were attracted to the University environment.

A group of what were then called "bohemians" formed a sort of subculture and caused Hyde Park to be known as Chicago's Greenwich Village. Among its artists in residence were Lorado Taft, the great American sculptor, and such writers as Carl Sandburg, Vachel Lindsay, Maxwell Bodenheim, and James T. Farrell. In more recent years, Hyde Park gave their start to Elaine May and Mike Nichols, and to the whole Second City school of social satire.

The great reform movements of the early twentieth century drew much strength from Hyde Park. The settlement house movement--child labor laws--the extension of compulsory education to age 16--equal rights for women: all these causes found a natural home in the University of Chicago community. The League of Women Voters formed its first chapter there. Clarence Darrow lived in a house facing the Midway, and in the 1920's had a fiery cross burned on the grass in front of his house.

By the 1930's however--although the community could still have been described as one of "middle class respectability with a liberal tinge"--change was apparent. It had gradually slipped into the status of an "older neighborhood": still decent, but no longer one of Chicago's most desirable residential sections. For one thing, its land had been overbuilt, and it was jammed with apartments and town houses. The aristocratic old families had moved farther out of the city, and more lower-middle-class families and white-collar workers with cosmopolitan tastes had taken their places. Because of the presence of the University, the percentage of professional-class people--doctors, lawyers, and educators--remained high. Many of these were Jews. It was in the 1930's that Hyde Park started to elect Democrats or Independents, and today the Republicans are outnumbered five to one.

By the end of the 40's, Hyde Park and Kenwood--an area of just under two square miles--contained 72,000 persons. The largest ethnic group were Jews of Russian and German stock. Anglo Saxon white Protestants made up the next largest bloc. (Although Roman Catholicism is the dominant religion in Chicago, Hyde Park-Kenwood has never been a strong Roman Catholic parish.) Japanese-Americans, displaced from the West Coast in 1942 were well represented. The Negro population was growing, and by 1950 stood at about 6% of the total. It was an interesting cultural mix, and a fairly homogeneous one. The majority of residents, regardless of race or ethnic origin, were in white-collar jobs or the professions; they were in middle or upper income brackets; and their educational level was considerably higher than the city average.

Some sections of the community were physically as attractive as ever they had been, but the central shopping district was looking rundown. Ill-kept houses and yards were more noticeable. The schools seemed to be terribly crowded; and indeed population density was high. Thirty-six thousand people per square mile is an awful lot of people. There had been a gradual and little remarked downward shift in income and buying habits, and all of a sudden Hyde Parkers were aware of the fact that in one two-block stretch there were 23 taverns and the gutters were full of half-pint whiskey bottles. Crime seemed to be on the increase, too.

To people who noticed and worried about these changes, University of Chicago sociologists could offer little comfort. Everywhere else, they said, the trends now apparent in Hyde Park-Kenwood had been irreversible: older neighborhoods in Chicago and in other cities had grown progressively more blighted until they had been flattened by bulldozers as part of slum clearance programs; neighborhoods invaded by Negroes had gone from all white to all Negro, remaining inter-racial only during the few years of transition. A stable inter-racial community--that is, one in which members of both races moved in as well as out, and the bulk of the population stayed put--was unknown.

Nevertheless, some citizens of Hyde Park-Kenwood decided to try to reverse the irreversible. They would not have made the progress they did if the community had not already been so rich in the kind of human resources needed for a job of this kind. There is a correlation between educational and socio-economic background and a citizenry's capacity for undertaking programs of voluntary social action; and Hyde Park-Kenwood has for years been a highly organized, articulate, social-action-oriented community. A former resident says of it, "Whenever three Hyde Parkers meet on a street corner, they form a committee". A present resident, on being asked by suburban friends why she's always so busy, says in reply, "Living in Hyde Park takes all my time."

There is also a kind of mystique that has long affected the residents of the area, a certainty that its atmosphere is unique, that life there is better and more stimulating than anywhere else. I am reminded of a recent occurrence that illustrates this point. There is in Hyde Park a coffee house-bookstore combination called the Medici. Every Sunday morning, several hundred people line up outside its doors, because it's the only place in town where you can get the Sunday New York Times on Sunday. Sometimes the supply runs out, so it's important to get in line early, and hang onto your place.

On a recent Sunday, with the line already turning the corner down the block, a fire broke out in the coffee house section of the Medici. Smoke curled up in wisps and then poured forth in billowing clouds; the proprietor called the fire department; and the firemen responded with alacrity. But the people lined up for the New York Times did not break ranks. The firemen went past them and around them and through them, and the queue remained. When the blaze had been quelled, one of the firemen was heard to remark--to no one in particular, as he passed the queue for the last time--"It's like another world."

It was the preservation of this "other world" that engaged the emotions of residents of Hyde Park-Kenwood, and gave them the will to do what they have done. It's not easy to manage an all-out citizen's effort for a year--to pass a school-bond issue, say, or to get a reform candidate into office. Imagine how many people have to care about a cause to keep working at it, and working at it intensively, for 15 years!

So much for the physical setting and type of community in which the nation's most ambitious urban renewal project was to be located.

Now, what made this urban renewal project necessary? Answer: the threat of the area's becoming an extension of the Negro ghetto to the north of it, and the possibility that it would become a slum, as well.

Again, I must take you backward in time and give you some historical perspective on land-use patterns in American cities, slums, and the growth of Negro population in the north.

American cities have all grown outward from a central core, the wealthier people always seeking cleaner air and more space on the periphery, the sections they have vacated being successively occupied by people ever a bit lower in the social or economic scale. Thus, the present character of any given section within a city is likely to bear a direct relationship to its closeness to the center. The oldest sections of older American cities such as New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago have by now gone the gamut from being the choicest to the most blighted slum sections, and are everywhere being torn down and done over.

Slums and Negroes do not necessarily go together. The United States has always had slums, and the people at the bottom of the social heap have always had to live in them--in the east, in successive generations, the Irish, the Italians, and the Puerto Ricans; here in the west, I would guess, the Orientals and the Mexicans.

The strength of America has always been that within two generations the children of slum-dwellers have made the upward economic and social climb that has landed their descendants in the fashionable suburbs today. Had it not been for race prejudice and a peculiar constellation of cultural and economic factors that hit American society all at the same time, the present generation of slum-dwellers--most of whom are native-born, and Negroes--might be following the classic American pattern.

Many did, and do, of course. The growth of a large Negro middle class is one of the least publicized and most heartening stories of our time. In Chicago, for example, there are now over 40,000 Negro home owners. But despite their middle-class level of education, taste, and income, they do not have the social mobility that would have been experienced by a prior generation of immigrants--because of skin color. They have escaped the big ghetto but not the series of smaller enclaves beyond its borders.

The group of Negroes I am about to discuss, however, are not those who have made it into the middle class, but those who are still lower class--and residents of the big ghetto. "Culturally deprived" or "underprivileged" are the euphemistic terms currently in use, but whatever the terminology, the basic problem is that they have either come fresh from the rural South (with its in many respects primitive culture) or the cities in which they live have sealed them into segregated sections which perpetuate that subculture.

It is important to stress that this subculture is not basically Negro. It is backwoods rural. In Chicago, a sizable number of slum-dwellers are poor whites from the South. They behave just like Negro slum-dwellers, and have exactly the same problems--except that their skin color enable them to get out of the slums sooner, if they can find the energy to try.

Negroes and poor whites alike have moved north and west for the same reason: to get jobs. This migration began during World War I, accelerated during the 1920's when the Immigration Exclusion Acts cut off manpower from abroad, and increased during World War II. As a result, the percentage of American Negroes who live in the South has steadily dropped--from 90% in 1910 to 77% in 1940 to an estimated 46% by 1980 to 28% by the year 2000. The city of New York now has a larger Negro population than any state in the Union.

What this migration has meant in social terms is that millions of uneducated and unskilled people, accustomed to rural rather than urban society--and the differences are sharp--have piled into the industrial cities. It has been their misfortune, and the misfortune of society, that unskilled jobs began to vanish at the same time that increasing numbers of people without marketable skills came into the labor market. Among this group, unemployment has therefore not only remained chronic but has increased. As is true of all people of low economic level here and abroad, birth rates are high; and to the large number of virtually unemployable adults already in the economy, we are every year adding thousands of teenagers as high school dropouts.

Society is only beginning to realize--and large numbers of people still don't believe this--that it is not enough to keep such people alive, which is the net effect of the welfare programs now in effect. One must also enable them to become self-sustaining.

This means, primarily, increased opportunities for education and employment, and freedom to escape the slums if one has enough skill and gumption to do so.

It also ought to be mentioned in this context that one of the strongest forces operating against Negro youth today is lack of hope--lack of motivation. The source of this hopelessness is usually in the home, and for good reason. Hence it has to be countered at school, by social agencies, or by employers. The middle-class Negro community could do no greater service for lower-class Negro youth than to display themselves as examples of what a good command of the three R's or a marketable skill can do for one.

Chicago, like many other American cities, has for many years held the bulk of its Negro population within a segregated area on the south side of the city. Originally, this segregation was managed by the use of restrictive covenants; later, by realtors refusing to show Negroes property in all-white areas or by lending agencies refusing to finance Negro purchases of property in all-white areas. The pressure of population within this segregated section has inexorably pushed its boundaries outward--a block by block expansion over a period of many years. By the 1940's, it had swung past Hyde Park-Kenwood to the west and was moving into the community from both west and north.

Characteristically, such expansion is led by stable working class families with some financial resources, whose reason for moving is to get better housing, better schools, less congestion--the traditional reasons for moving outward from the center of a city. And then what happens?

James Baldwin calls the Negro problem a white problem, as of course in this context it is. As soon as the first Negro family moves into the block, the whites pick up and run. Since whites thereafter refuse to rent in that area, a landlord's only alternative is to fill the vacancies by renting to Negroes. Many landlords are perfectly happy with this result, inasmuch as Negroes are so pressed for living space that they can be forced to pay higher rates per room than whites.

You can make a nice profit out of people who have no bargaining power by becoming a slumlord. You buy an old building--one with six five-room apartments, say; drive the present tenants out by reducing maintenance and services; and then replace them with a Negro family in each of the five rooms of the six apartments. Rent from 30 families instead of the six that the building was intended to house is a pretty good take, especially if you put nothing back into maintenance. Thirty families using the plumbing intended for six spells certain trouble; multiply those clogged drains by similar overburdening of all other facilities, and you can see why that building will become a ruin within a few years. But you will have gotten back your original investment many times over, and you can afford to abandon it. Maybe, if you were shrewd enough to pick your building in an area intended for slum clearance, you can even sell it to the city and make a little more money from it.

Another way to make money is to blockbust. You see to it that one house in the block is sold to a Negro family, and then you panic the whites on the street into selling. You assure them that "property values always drop after Negroes move in", so they'd better sell now and get their equity out. You buy that property as cheaply as you can scare them into selling it for, and re-sell it at inflated prices to Negroes.

Incidentally, it should be mentioned that slumlords and blockbusters can be found among both races. Greed for a fast buck is not a racial characteristic, but a human one. The way to drive both types of operators out of business is for associations of realtors to police their ranks; to enforce city codes pertaining to building occupancy and maintenance; to destroy that myth that property values drop after Negroes move in; and to eliminate the shortage of decent housing for Negroes so they cannot be preyed upon by the unscrupulous.

Both of these practices--blockbusting and illegal conversion of apartments--were beginning to occur in Hyde Park and Kenwood by the end of the 1940's. The big mansions that had been built in the 1880's in Kenwood and the apartments that had been built in Hyde Park for the World's Fair crowds of 1893 were especially vulnerable. The older a place, the more regular maintenance it requires to remain habitable.

Although many groups and individuals had given thought to the community's situation, the first organized action program was initiated by the 57th St. Meeting of Friends (Quakers). Out of this came the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference, which I shall refer to hereafter as the Conference. The Unitarian minister was its first chairman and it had strong representation from the social action group of a Jewish temple. Others active from the beginning included people interested in human relations, city planning, and civil rights. It was an inter-racial group from the first.

Almost unrepresented, however, were merchants, hotel keepers, bankers, members of business-based service clubs like Kiwanis or Rotary, and although it had plenty of faculty members from the University of Chicago and the several other local institutions of higher learning, it had no representation from their policy-making or administrative branches. In other words, it lacked the politically or socially conservative elements of the community. This circumstance was both advantageous and the reverse. The advantage lay in the fact that the people who formed the Conference were like-minded, had a sense of mission, and could agree on an action program. Although the primary objective of the Conference was to prevent the physical or cultural deterioration of the community, acculturation of the newcomers and improvement of race relations was an important part of their program.

The disadvantage was that the more conservative and moneyed people in the community, most of them homeowners in still-unblighted sections, either didn't agree as to the seriousness of Hyde Park's problem or didn't think anything could be done about it. In any case, they wanted to keep the community white--if not by restrictive covenants, by some other device. They saw the Conference as a bunch of "do gooders", "fuzzy-minded idealists", or "Communists." There was a fairly widespread community belief that the aim of the Conference was to invite the Negroes in; and the rapid deterioration of Hyde Park and Kenwood during the 1950's was often blamed on the Conference. There is even now a residue of suspicion directed at it from the same kind of people who distrusted it in the beginning.

However, the Conference did some great things. Probably the most significant was its organization of much of the community into block groups, which served multiple purposes. By persuading a group of neighbors to tackle specific problems affecting their own households--cracked sidewalks, inadequate outdoor play space for their children, abandoned cars preempting curbside parking--one can give them an ability to appreciate the implications of these same problems for an entire community, and eventually build the community-mindedness that is essential to any program of renewal or rehabilitation. Incidentally, better race relations result. People forget skin color when the point of their being together is to tackle a mutual problem.

You can never make people so community-minded that they will welcome having their own houses torn down in the name of progress, but the people of Hyde Park-Kenwood did come, however reluctantly, to accept the fact that individual interests sometimes must yield to the general good. I'll have more to say about compromises and their other changes in attitude in a few minutes.

When citizen delegations went to municipal authorities to make requests, to protest decisions, or to participate in public hearings, the Conference staff sent them armed with facts about the laws in question or the local situation to which those laws applied. A minor triumph of the Conference was that the overall tone of its negotiations with city officials was not the militant one of demanding rights but the more agreeable one of making reasonable requests and offering to help. Public agencies responded by learning to trust and in most cases trying to cooperate with the delegations that came from Hyde Park and Kenwood.

The Conference set up a batch of standing committees, manned by some of the most astute and successful specialists in given fields in the city. All, of course, were volunteers. To give just one example: the Legal Panel educated everyone else on the laws pertaining to building codes; the Planning Committee tried to get new laws written and passed to allow the city to make repairs to a slum building, for example, and sequester the rents

to pay for them; the Enforcement Committee gathered evidence as to which buildings in the area were in violation of building codes; and the Conference itself took the owner to court. Yet none of this was enough. Cases brought to court dragged on for months and sometimes years. Slumlords, if convicted, got off with small fines--and meanwhile, the slum buildings in question continued to spew poison into the community. The physical appearance of Hyde Park-Kenwood continued to deteriorate. The influx of slum Negroes and the flight of whites, although it was never to reach panic proportions, steadily accelerated. Within the decade of the 50's, the percentage of Negroes increased from 6% to 49%. The total population in Hyde Park-Kenwood eventually exceeded 76,000.

But I am getting a bit ahead of myself chronologically. In 1952 the police district of which Hyde Park-Kenwood was a part had the highest crime rate in the city. People were scared to go out after dark to mail a letter, and it grew easier for other universities to recruit members of the University of Chicago faculty. Our undergraduate enrollment slid, within six years, from 3200 to 1350, as parents became fearful for their children's welfare.

The University's trustees and administrators, who had taken the stand all through the 30's and 40's that the University's business was teaching and research rather than community action, were now forced to admit that if they didn't engage in community action they might end up with a \$200 million investment in a slum, without anybody to do research or any students to educate. And, as one faculty member put it, there isn't much of a second-hand market for a university.

But many people in the community saw the problem as essentially one of crime prevention and elimination of substandard housing. They were not ready to accept the Conference program, with its emphasis on integration. Its most active and articulate members had preached brotherhood with such a sanctimonious air of superiority that they had engendered enormous hostility.

The first executive director of the Conference, Julia Abrahamson, now says that its militant stand on race relations was a mistake. In "A Neighborhood Finds Itself", a book she wrote about the renewal years in Hyde Park, Miss Abrahamson says, "We should not have made ideological demands on people and institutions, asking them to share our beliefs, to take part in the conference program for our reasons. It does not seem to me now that it was either necessary or desirable for us to engage in formal programs for the integration of Negroes in community life, such as the early work of the Employment, Hotels, Private Schools, and Restaurant subcommittees. Although these efforts won us friends among Negroes, they created many more problems than they solved.

"We found that preaching and crusading are never as persuasive as example or as awakened self-interest. The policy statement of the Conference made our position on the race question very clear. Thereafter, it seems to me, we should have concentrated on involving all community people in a common improvement program. The very process of involvement, the experience of working together, would have improved race relations more naturally than all the self-conscious programs we undertook in this area."

"An organization for community betterment needs more to achieve its purposes than the loyalty of such people as churchmen, teachers, and social workers. The banker has a vital role to play, and the real estate man, and the shopkeeper, and the university trustee."

This mistake, Miss Abrahamson goes on, "made inevitable the creation of a second community organization, one described as being a 'practical' rather than an 'idealistic' or 'naive' approach to community problems, to work in the interest of the power groups and individuals who had no confidence in the motivation or effectiveness of the Conference."

In 1952, then, this second organization came into being. It was organized following a huge citizen's mass meeting to protest crime and to try to obtain better police protection. Its name is the South East Chicago Commission, and I shall refer to it hereafter as the Commission. It was, and is, headed by the President of the University.

A large piece of its budget was, and is, guaranteed by the University, and the rest of its support comes from the citizenry, especially the business community.

I should mention in passing that many people in Hyde Park-Kenwood financially supported both the Conference and the Commission, and still do. Furthermore, now that the old passions are dying down and the attitudes of the backers of both groups have been modified by experience, the two organizations are talking of a merger. Nothing is more damaging financially than a premature sense of success, which the community is currently enjoying. Both organizations are having difficulty meeting their budgets, which run about \$50,000 a year each.

In retrospect, however, it is generally agreed that the different roles and operating styles of the two major community organizations were indispensable, and that one organization could not then have done what each of the two did separately. The great contribution of the Conference, via its grass roots organization and its conscientiously democratic procedures, was to inform and educate and achieve a community consensus both as to goals and means. The Commission, however, under the direction of a strong and aggressive executive, backed by the power and prestige of the University and its trustees, freed of the slow processes of getting a consensus via multiple levels up from the block group, could and did take direct action that went to the heart of the problem of slums and crime.

For one example, pressure on real estate speculators could now be channeled through the University's strong connections with the Chicago business community. In a typical case, two private detectives hired by the Commission acquired evidence to support community suspicions that a local hotel was the site of criminal activities. Julian Levi, director of the Commission, gave the information to the firm that insured the hotel. The insurance company promptly cancelled its coverage. Not wishing to have uninsured property, the mortgage holder demanded immediate repayment of his loan. Foreclosure followed, forcing out the operators of the hotel. The new managers took the hint, and removed the criminal element.

This sort of action was directed at other hotel owners, tavern owners, and slumlords--and before long the word got around the city that Hyde Park-Kenwood was a poor site for such operations. All this took considerable sums of money and a ready access to the world of firms that insure and mortgage property.

I am not going into the details of how the master renewal plan and rehabilitation of Hyde Park-Kenwood was handled because I would have to describe the activities and functioning of so many municipal, state, and Federal agencies that your heads would spin if they aren't already. Instead--quoting, condensing, and paraphrasing--I am going to follow the summary given in a book by Peter Rossi and Robert H. Dentler, entitled, "The Politics of Urban Renewal". Both are sociologists, residents of Hyde Park-Kenwood and active participants as well as observers during the renewal years. They say:

"In Chicago in the early 1950's, city agencies concerned with planning were weak and inexperienced. Related municipal agencies designed to attend directly to the problems of conservation were not to be established until 1956. The enforcement of housing and building codes was divided among many agencies; their work was uncoordinated; and court procedures were slow and cumbersome. The police department was undermanned and seemingly unable to provide adequate protection against criminals. At the same time, little help was available from state and Federal governments. To be sure, Federal legislation enacted in 1949 provided funds for slum clearance, but only a very small portion of Hyde Park-Kenwood could be considered as an out-and-out slum. Furthermore, land clearance on a large scale would defeat the goals of conserving the neighborhood. Aid was available for removing slums but not for preventing them.

"Thus two tasks faced the community. On a short-term, hold-the-line basis, it was necessary to obtain better utilization of existing governmental powers--better enforcement of local building and zoning codes, better municipal services, more efficient police protection. On a long-term basis, extensive governmental authority had to be obtained for complete rehabilitation."

Let's consider, first, how one can stimulate local governmental agencies.

One method is the frontal attack on City Hall in the form of mass pressure--petitions, demonstrations, demands for the removal of city officials, and the like. Pressure of this sort was not used extensively by the organized groups of Hyde Park-Kenwood.

A second way is to seek to reform government agencies through the creation of new legislation--on building and zoning codes, for example. This approach was tried, and was to some degree successful.

A third way is to attempt to supplement and aid municipal agencies in the pursuit of their objectives. This last approach was and continues to be used, with excellent success; and I'll give you two examples.

Residents of Hyde Park-Kenwood have been trained to look with suspicion at a load of lumber arriving across the street. The minute that crates of a proper size to hold wash-basins also arrive on the site, someone calls the South East Chicago Commission and reports what is happening. This action triggers a call by the Commission to the city office that issues building permits. If no permit has been issued for the alteration of the building to which the lumber and the crates were delivered, another call from the Commission brings a police stop-order. In other words, we catch illegal conversions long before a city inspector would find them--by not letting them get started.

Another example of aiding or supplementing municipal services is the University's maintenance of a private police force that patrols most of Hyde Park but not Kenwood, at a cost of \$300,000 annually, working in close cooperation with the city police.

In this connection, I should mention that the city of Chicago got a new police chief a few years ago, thanks to the University of California, who sent us Orlando Wilson, professor of criminology here. Wonderful things have happened since his coming, not the least of them that the crime rate in the police district of which Hyde Park-Kenwood is a part has dropped by 50%, and the university community itself now has one of the lowest crime rates in the city. Crimes of violence are a rarity today, but we are still greatly bothered by bicycle theft.

However, better municipal services cannot rehabilitate a run-down community. In the early 1950's, there were only two possibilities for Hyde Park-Kenwood: voluntary rehabilitation of property by individual owners, or privately financed renewal through neighborhood redevelopment corporations--and there was something wrong with both solutions. Rehabilitation by individuals requires money, and conventional mortgage houses were reluctant to lend it because of the anticipated neighborhood decline. Neighborhood redevelopment corporations by their very nature require a membership of moneyed men--exactly the kind of people who were lacking in the sections of Hyde Park-Kenwood that most needed redevelopment.

Therefore, since private resources were inadequate, and since the governmental machinery of the day bypassed almost completely the problems of deteriorating neighborhoods, Hyde Parkers realized that the scope of existing public agencies had to be broadened or new ones had to be created specifically for the task.

That this is what happened you already know. The Federal Housing Act of 1954 was a response to a national need that the Hyde Park-Kenwood community of Chicago clarified and dramatized. We were not only the nation's first urban renewal project under the new legislation, but the knowledge we gained from the hard years of work preceding its passage was reflected in the legislation--and has had national impact.

The Federal government's requirements for eligibility for urban renewal assistance are as follows:

1. Adequate local codes and ordinances
2. A comprehensive general physical plan for the project area
3. An analysis of neighborhood characteristics

4. Adequate administrative organization for executing renewal
5. Assurance of the community's ability to meet financial requirements under the renewal program
6. Ability to rehouse the displaced
7. Full-fledged citizen participation

Many of these requirements, as you will realize from what I have said earlier, were being met in Chicago or in Hyde Park-Kenwood before the Federal Housing Act of 1954 was passed. With its passage, various uncoordinated projects began to cohere into a program. The citizen movement fostered by the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference proved to public agencies and other institutions that local people could be counted on to support problem-solving programs. The work of the South East Chicago Commission resulted in widespread publicity and greater understanding, city-wide, of the inadequacies in building codes and their enforcement; and better laws were written. Efforts of the University of Chicago encouraged private investment by local individuals and firms; the University itself invested more than \$5-million in run-down apartments, hotels, and houses and rehabilitated them for faculty, student, or other use. All this was presented to the municipal political leaders and to banking and mortgage houses as strong evidence that a growing program of potential advantage was gathering momentum in Hyde Park.

Rossi and Dentler say, "As each segment of the population swung into support, the scope of the action program increased proportionately, until it embraced self-help rehabilitation, code enforcement, slum clearance, private redevelopment, stimulation of welfare and municipal services, and, finally, planned renewal. Furthermore, the sense of urgency brought diverse groups together into a united front which was later broken by very few residents."

The compromises were many, and many of them were unpalatable to particular groups. Some businessmen, for example, found themselves urban-renewed out. People who strongly supported the need for parks and playgrounds found that their own houses were coming down to make room for those parks and playgrounds. Some citizens felt, and feel, that the final urban renewal plan was "the creation of the University and benefits it rather than the community". But probably the bitterest pill to swallow was the realization that the community could not retain its middle-class character unless it treated integration as a class problem and discriminated against lower-class Negroes.

Let me explain this latter point a bit more fully.

It was accepted early and by everyone that the central goal of all this effort was to keep Hyde Park-Kenwood what it had been: a desirable middle-class residential neighborhood. That goal in turn meant several things. First, the exodus of whites had to be checked and the numbers of Negroes stabilized. From the time that the Federal Housing Act was passed, it was accepted that the community would be inter-racial; the focus for argument thereafter was not integration, but what kind of people would be integrated.

The second aspect of the problem was that deteriorated structures had to be rehabilitated or replaced and population reduced. This in turn meant displacement from the community of the people who occupied those structures, a majority of whom were poor Negroes. Finally, those same people would find themselves priced out of the renewed community. True, the plan called for a small number of public housing units, but so few that people of the type who qualify for public housing would remain a small minority within the community. As I have pointed out already, a man who can pay only \$75 for rent cannot afford an apartment that rents for \$125 unless he doubles up with another family. \$75 apartments neither did nor do exist in Hyde Park-Kenwood; building codes did and do forbid two families living in a single-family dwelling; and if you enforce those building codes, the man who can pay only \$75 is priced out.

Now I quote again from the Rossi-Dentler book:

"The 'working through' of this dilemma brought the question of residential integration out into public discussion with a frankness rarely achieved in northern urban areas--

The local answer has been that integration cannot succeed unless the class level and customs of the two groups are approximately equal. As comedian Mike Nichol expressed it, 'This is Hyde Park, white and blacks shoulder to shoulder against the lower classes'".

The community regenerated itself physically in two stages. In 1954, one completely blighted area in Hyde Park was designated for demolition and rebuilding under slum clearance legislation. The rebuilding got under way in 1958. The much larger Hyde Park-Kenwood urban renewal project was initiated in 1955, final plans were approved in 1958, and the bulk of the necessary demolition took place after 1960. I give you this timetable partly to indicate the amount of time that must pass when much planning and many governmental agencies are involved in a project, and partly to explain the figures I am now about to give you.

The high point of population in Hyde Park-Kenwood was reached in 1956--over 76,000. At that time the percentage of non-whites was 38%. By 1960, the slum-clearance program in Hyde Park and the acquisition and emptying of some structures under the urban renewal program had reduced the total population by about 11,000--most of whom were white. At the same time, now that it was known that existing slum buildings would be condemned and acquired by the Department of Urban Renewal, slumlords packed more people into their buildings. Therefore, although total population in Hyde-Park-Kenwood had dropped to 65,000 by 1960, the non-white percentage had risen to 49%.

And how are things today?

Approximately 25% of structures that were standing in 1956 have been demolished. Little more will occur; we are now rebuilding. Since no census or community survey has been taken since 1960, I can give you only an estimate on population, which is believed to be approximately 55,000. It is expected to increase slightly as more residential building on cleared land takes place. The percentage of non-whites is 40%--higher by 2% than it was in 1956, before urban renewal had begun. This is an important figure because detractors of urban renewal often characterize it as "Negro removal." We have demonstrated that such is not the case. True, urban renewal in Hyde Park-Kenwood involved people removal, and the majority of those people were Negro--but they were displaced because they lived in the substandard housing that had to be gotten rid of if the goals of community conservation were to be reached. The net effect, I repeat, was to increase the percentage of Negroes in the community.

As for those who were displaced and priced out, the majority were re-housed by municipal agencies--and in better housing than they had in Hyde Park-Kenwood. I haven't had time to mention that during the years of the urban renewal effort in Hyde Park a vast public housing program was taking place in the city of Chicago, the result being that by 1960 about 75% of poor Negroes lived in standard housing, compared to a 1950 figure of 40%.

During these same years, however, high-rise public housing projects have acquired a bad name all over the United States because, decent though the facilities may be, they pile together into one place most of a city's problem families. They tend to be completely segregated, and their occupants therefore have no chance to participate in or acquire the mores of middle-class society.

Now that you know the kind of trail-blazing that is characteristic of Hyde Park-Kenwood, it should come as no surprise when I tell you that our new public housing projects are going to be small units, scattered through the community, and it is our fervent hope that we will manage to integrate them. Again we expect to set a national precedent.

And here's still another: we think we have worked out the machinery for keeping in an urban neighborhood the small merchants who add so much charm and convenience to it. Among those displaced from Hyde Park-Kenwood were our artisans and craftsmen. The reason was simple. There is a ceiling on their income because they are one-man operations. This ceiling requires that the commercial space they occupy be in the low-rent category. You can only get low rents in dilapidated old buildings, and when the dilapidated old buildings went down and nice modern buildings replaced them, the cost of construction

dictated higher rents than the repairer of stringed instruments, the picture framer, the one-man print shop, or the custom cabinet-maker could afford. This problem is currently on its way to solution, again by citizen effort. Over \$100,000 has been raised by Hyde Parkers to buy land on which, with the help of the Small Business Administration, a low-rent center for artisans and craftsmen will exist within two years, we hope.

At the other end of the scale, the supermarket in our new California-style shopping center is the biggest one in the city, and does an annual volume in excess of \$4-million. It is characteristic of this liberal intellectual community that the supermarket is a Co-op. Another amusing sign of the times is that our local liquor store, which used to stock more half-pint bottles of cheap whiskey than anything else, now does an enormous volume of imported wines.

In 1958, property owners in Hyde Park-Kenwood acquired city permits for home repairs totaling \$498,000. In 1963, the annual volume of such permits had risen to almost \$2,500,000. This year the total is expected to pass \$5-million.

The vacancy rate in rental housing is now 2% or less, compared to a vacancy rate of 7% to 8% for the city of Chicago as a whole.

Within the last six years, the going prices for old houses have risen from 6% to 75%--if you can find one to buy. Houses sell so fast via the grapevine that they are seldom advertised. A measure of the stability of the neighborhood is that property now changes hands from Negro to white ownership as often as the reverse.

At least 15 savings and loan associations are now lending money for projects located in the community, among them one that was tailored to order for our particular circumstances. It is the Hyde Park Federal, now with assets of over \$8-million, which came into being as the result of a huge citizen effort in 1960 and 1961. Its object was to provide mortgage money for anyone who wished to locate in this community, including Negroes. It now serves the entire city, but is still a rarity because of its inter-racial lending policy.

These figures evidence the economic well-being of our community today. By the time the books are finally closed on the renewal project in Hyde Park-Kenwood, over \$46-million in public funds and over \$250-million in private funds will have been invested in the community--a figure that includes \$27-million spent by the University of Chicago.

Whether you consider this a success story will depend on which of the problems of Hyde Park-Kenwood in the 1940's has application to the Berkeley problem that concerns you most deeply in the 1960's; and whether you believe that the right solution was found in Chicago.

As a relative newcomer to Hyde Park, two things about my new home are especially impressive. One is quite personal: I find it enormously satisfying to be part of an effort to cope with problems that people in many other communities are still trying to brush under the rug. The Hyde Park mystique is even more deeply entrenched, now that the esprit de corps of a military force that has been seasoned in battle has been added to the original belief that the place is unique. The second impressive quality about the community is that its various segments found the will to modify their initial positions, to accept less than they wanted, and are working together to make the compromise a reality.

Nowhere is this more evident than in matters pertaining to integration. The original community compromise was that liberals had to accept less racial integration than they wanted and that conservatives had to accept more Negro neighbors than they wanted; the focus has now shifted to keeping an inter-racial community stable. There is a widespread but unspoken understanding that the community's racial composition must not be left to chance. You could say that a one-time espousal of managed segregation has been replaced by espousal of managed integration.

This is not the same as a quota system. Apartment house landlords balance racial percentages according to the social capacity of that particular apartment house. The residents of a given block, whites and Negroes together, express concern if the block appears

to be going too predominantly white or too predominantly Negro, and seek to find occupants who will get things back in balance. The University, in pursuing a non-discriminatory policy in finding housing for faculty, promotes integration. An organized group of Negroes is now working vigorously to rehabilitate one section, where occupancy is 99% Negro, hoping to attract whites into it by building attractive new middle-income housing. With the housing shortage what it is in Hyde Park-Kenwood, and with residents of the community being the kind of people they are, there is reason to expect that this scheme of integration-in-reverse will work. In summary, it is believed by realists of both races that management of this sort is a necessary interim step until the day finally arrives when whites won't panic and run when Negroes move in next door.

As I have said, morale in Hyde Park-Kenwood is very high. But that is not the same thing as saying that all the problems are solved. Race relations are good, and integration has been achieved on a community-wide basis; but there are still sections which are virtually all-Negro and sections which are virtually all-white. There is more inter-racial socializing than in any other community I know anything about, but it nevertheless still has a quality of self-consciousness. The public schools are in trouble. We have just been through a community fight on the subject of public housing--not as to whether we'd have it, but where. Even some of the strongest advocates of public housing protested its being located in their block. Most importantly, it is perfectly obvious that no city neighborhood, not even Hyde Park-Kenwood, can wholly control its own destiny. We continue to be ringed by slums, and until Chicago Negroes have free access to the same housing market that whites have and until jobs are found for the masses of unskilled and illiterate poor so they can afford decent housing, the future of this and any other city neighborhood remains in doubt.

To me, the final figures as to the cost of urban renewal are the most significant part of what I have told you. Although increased tax revenues will eventually restore to the public purse more than the cost of renewal, it has nevertheless required \$300-million to reverse the irreversible process in a single two-square-mile area in Chicago. The moral for other cities is pretty clear: don't let the irreversible process get started.

PANEL DISCUSSION AND AUDIENCE PARTICIPATION

(Mrs. Beadle)

Panel Members: Miss Barbara Cannon, teacher at Burbank Junior High School
Dr. Ann C. Birge, bio-physicist, formerly at Donner Laboratory
member of citizens committee to study de facto segregation
Mr. Evelio Grillo, originator of the Ford Foundation Project in Oakland,
Community Affairs Consultant
Mr. Robert Draper, First Vice-President of Assoc. Students at U.C.
Mr. John Denton, liaison officer of the Oakland Project at U.C.
Mr. Daniel Dewey, principal of Anna Head School
Mr. C. H. Wennerberg, Superintendent of Schools, Berkeley

Moderator: We will ask the panel to look at the Chicago Story in terms of our Berkeley or Bay Area community. How is the Berkeley situation alike or different? Then we would like to have the panel interact thoroughly and contradict each other if necessary. Later on we will give the audience opportunity to react, ask pertinent questions and prick the minds of the panel.

Mrs. Birge: One of the similarities I noticed between the University community in the outskirts of Chicago and our situation here in Berkeley is this feeling of being unique. I think we in Berkeley have felt unique, and I was a little annoyed to hear that they felt the same way. Some of the old timers that have been here a long time and had this feeling that we were a very special community are disappointed that things are changing. They say that Berkeley is "going to the dogs". Newcomers, on the other hand, who look upon Berkeley as being the "Athens of the West", as it is sometimes called, tend to picture it as more ideal than it actually is. When they find that the people in Berkeley have the same prejudices, the same vices, and characteristics of all human beings, this is a real disappointment too.

One other similarity with Chicago that I noticed was that we are also part of a very large urban area, so that we cannot influence completely our own destiny. At the same time, we can do a great deal about it. For one thing, we are larger. Mrs. Beadle spoke of two square miles; we are about ten square miles, and our population has not reached anywhere near the density of Hyde Park-Kenwood area. Mrs. Beadle spoke of 36,000 per square mile before urban renewal and now, after urban renewal, about 28,000 people per square mile. At the present time the population density of Berkeley is about 14,000 per square mile. With maximum building under our present master plan condoning regulations, it would grow to about 20,000 people per square mile. So, we haven't reached the proportion of difficulty faced in the 1940's by the Hyde Park-Kenwood area. Our population is also changing a little less rapidly.

There is one other thing I would like to mention. Our community is beginning to face up to its problems and not just sweep them under the rug. In 1962 we had the study on housing, and, of course, at the moment there is the controversial report of the citizens committee to study de facto segregation in the Berkeley schools. It is interesting to me to see that the impetus for these movements has come in large measure from Negro members of our community. Up until this point, the university has not been represented as an official body, although many members of the university faculty have taken part on committees and study groups.

Mr. Grillo: I have always thought, in my private moments, that Berkeley has more talent per square block to work on community problems and change than most communities have per square mile. I have always hoped that leadership would develop, and in some ways, much more significant than you might assume, Berkeley is presently leading the way. I am impressed with the character and the coloration of the legislative bodies.

I would say that this is a comprehensive paper we have heard. There is no aspect of problems that manifest themselves in the urban complex, or really no aspect of the efforts that go into attacking those problems, that you have not touched. It is a good paper. One thing that impressed me was the significant decrease in the number of under-

graduate students at the University of Chicago. This kind of thing is at the heart of what motivates the commission-type person finally to move. I don't think we should undervalue the community and social process and the progress which comes out of creative dedication on the part of enlightened and dedicated individuals or groups of individuals to the goal of achieving a democratic society. By the same token, we must not undervalue the influence that the ting-a-ling of a cash register has upon the social progressive movement. The Berkeley situation is different in that there has been no decrease in the student population, but we do have concern about the maintenance of a viable economic community. I bring this up because of Miss Abrahamson's very eloquent espousal of the methodology which says we shouldn't.

Mrs. Birge: She says to keep our eyes on the object or thing which we are trying to accomplish.

Mrs. Grillo: We must not undervalue the kind of contributions other methodologists make, including the methodology so well set forth by the most brilliant product of the Berkeley public schools, of whom Mr. Wennerberg should be very proud, Miss Tracy Simms.

I am glad you smoked the Negro middle class out of the bushes, and there's some smoking to be done. Apparently you have dealt very frankly, as your paper says, with hypocrisy of the human rights revolution. Corruption is of the spirit, not of the skin color. I appreciated your bringout out the fact that both the Negro and white leadership of the human rights revolution springs from and is fed by the middle class. On the other hand, there is a segment, and a very large segment, of both the Negro and white middle class which will have no part in the revolution and no support for the revolution. They have a stake in the maintenance of the status quo, and I'm glad you smoked that out. I might say it is not too different in any community, including Berkeley.

Mr. Draper: I am vice-president of the student body, and so I take an interest in this whole problem from a student's viewpoint. The area around the Berkeley campus is somewhat isolated from the rest of the community, and we have our own shopping districts. However, some of the factors that Mrs. Beadle has been speaking about may be seen around our campus. First, we have a large Negro and white lower class in Berkeley and in Oakland. These areas may expand and bring with them interracial and class problems. Secondly, we have on the campus many who very closely resemble the "slum lowers" Mrs. Beadle mentioned. In this case, the victims are not Negroes, as in Chicago, but rather the students, which I represent. It is no secret that the price of rent around the university is very high for apartments. Yet the student body totaling 25,000 must find places to live, so they pay the high prices. Also, it is common knowledge that no student need expect his pre-deposit for damages to be returned, no matter how carefully he takes care of his apartment. The slum lord mentality does not seem limited to Chicago. Third, the Berkeley area does seem to be headed downhill. Looking at some apartment buildings put up just a few years ago, one cannot but wonder if the slums of tomorrow are being built today.

The question seems to be for Berkeley and for myself, "Where does the university fit into this context?" For Berkeley the problem is not just to provide a middle class interracial neighborhood around the campus, for this is just a surface thing. A local solution to a much deeper community problem is needed. The concept of the modern university is that it should be a light of learning and wisdom to the community. But to do this, it must not be passive but accept a role of leadership, both moral and material, a leadership that the University of Chicago has apparently recognized and accepted. But the University of California is also a state-wide institution, and student organizations are given directives. "Since the constitution of the State of California requires that the university shall be entirely independent of all political or sectarian influence", student organizations or campus groups "will not become involved in political or social action." This poses a problem for students. For although it is true that students can belong to outside groups, many times a student on campus has a choice of joining very radical groups or not joining at all. We are stimulated to take interest in community, state and national affairs, and we have the ideal of aiding in the attainment of solutions to some of the problems we have been talking about tonight, and yet the logical fruition of this interest is shattered. It is very frustrating. So I would ask, "how

does the student fit into this context, and in a broader sense, how does the university fit in?"

Mr. Denton: I thought Mrs. Beadle's talk was excellent, and she pointed up many of the problems. My principal interest is in seeing how the university can relate to problems of community. One of the other problems she raises which is of interest is segregation by economic status and age. She also made the point that welfare is not the equivalent of giving its recipients a fresh start toward upward economic mobility. I think we expect too much of people on welfare. We seem to feel that because we provide them with welfare, they then have an opportunity to move upward in typical American economic style. But this isn't true. Many of our Americans who are being moved, such as the American Indians being moved from their reservations, move almost directly onto the relief roles in urban communities. Some in Oakland are actually put in a much worse position than when they were on reservations. Finally, I was particularly interested, as liaison officer for the Oakland Interagency Project with responsibility for bringing in the resources of the university, to learn tonight of some of the things that might be done. What contribution did the university make to the Hyde Park-Kenwood rehabilitation, aside from the faculty members who were in the renewal effort at an early stage? When the administration got in and things began to move, I wonder if the university participation has differed from what might have been expected of any large property owner? How is it distinguished from the Melon interest in Pittsburgh or any large property owner in any community?

Mrs. Beadle: Well, no, I don't think it did differ any. The university provides a large part of the income for the Southeast Chicago Commission and helps control crime and slums, and it has invested about twenty-seven million in buying and rehabilitating property. But it acts just exactly like any other business organization with interest in civic betterment.

Mr. Dewey: I have worked on the Berkeley Citizens Renewal Advisory Committee, and one of the projects at the moment is what is called the South Campus Project. Some of us on the committee feel we are far too concerned with parking for the Sather Gate merchants and not enough with the housing for students. So please, Mr. Draper, come down and make yourselves heard. I would also like to ask Mr. Denton a question, "Am I right in assuming that you object to having large property owners like the Melons in Pittsburgh and the rich in Chicago?"

Mr. Denton: No, not at all. I am just trying to find what the university's unique contribution has been as distinguished from its role as a property owner.

Mr. Dewey: I would like to emphasize one point that Mrs. Beadle stated and that is that something must be done before the irreversible process gets started. I think this is a real lesson for the City of Berkeley. It is my understanding that there are isolated examples of extremely poor housing in this city, but we do not have a slum area per se, in the sense which Chicago has had. That had once been an urban middle class community, and now, as a result of strenuous and highly commendable and very expensive efforts, has been brought back to this particular level.

I am concerned with what happened when Oakland did a great redevelopment project in West Oakland. The people who were removed from that area, many of them, came to Berkeley to live in inadequate, low cost housing. If we start such a thing in this city, and chances are now that we will not, this would leave the problem of where to put the poor. It's all very well to talk in terms of middle class, but this does not refer to the mass of the population. As Lincoln said, "God must have loved the poor, he made so many of them." What are we going to do about housing them?

Mrs. Beadle: Hyde Park-Kenwood doesn't have any housing, although it is going to have some. They have just finished tearing everything down and just getting started to build now. The slum clearance section has been rebuilt; the public housing will probably not be built for a couple of years. There will be about 20 public housing units which will accommodate about 1,000 people altogether which will be scattered through the community.

The point of this is to try to take essentially poor and slum type people and put them into middle class sections and see if this section turns them into middle class too.

Mr. Wennerberg: Are you familiar with what happened in Wilmington, Delaware? There is an area 15 blocks by 5 blocks in the middle of Wilmington which looks like it has been bombed out. All the old housing was taken down, and a few units were put up. But because only Negroes lived in them, and they couldn't afford them, nobody else would live there. So the rest of the area is just sitting there, because nobody wants to invest in something that won't sell.

Mr. Grillo: The University of California relates to an entire region, and Berkeley, Oakland, Richmond, Albany, San Leandro, San Lorenzo, Walnut Creek and Concord are really one human complex. It is in that context that we can then understand Berkeley and Oakland. They are just the expansion of the ghetto, that's all. The great big ring of white people live outside the Berkeley-Oakland core, with the same kinds of operation which made for the tight Oakland ghetto now operating to make a tight city of Oakland and a tight city of Berkeley. San Leandro had 20 Negroes in 1950 and 17 in 1960, while its population went up from 29,000 to 65,000.

I want to ask Mr. Dewey, "What is it that the commission type people you described don't believe in, public housing?"

Mr. Dewey: That has been our experience. I will say it is only a very minor scale, because when you mention public housing to the conference type, they say, "Oh, no, no!"

Mr. Denton: In public housing the poor are isolated in welfare conditions, and there is no opportunity for them to get out of it. In the end it isn't an answer, although it is a temporary answer.

Mr. Grillo: Now wait a minute, I lived in public housing.

Mr. Denton: Yes, but as soon as your income improved you moved out. You became a leader in the community, but you didn't lead the rest of the people out of public housing. Perhaps I had better clarify my point about public housing. I feel that public housing per se is not an answer, that it has to be combined with some of the other factors that the city planner mentioned, such as training of one kind or another. I think welfare also has to do this. Neither public housing nor welfare is going to move anyone up the economic ladder in and of themselves.

Mr. Draper: Perhaps a public university can't take the same type of action as a private university, such as Chicago, can take. But may I ask what action it can take, or if it can't take action then what happens to the light which should emanate from the university into the community?

Mrs. Beadle: This business about schools is a fascinating dilemma, and I will try to speak of it very quickly. The University of Chicago ever since it was founded had a laboratory school which was run by Prof. John Dewey, and the presence of that laboratory school which begins with kindergarten and goes through high school is a fine college preparatory school. It is considered by many people to be one of the strong saving graces that kept faculty members in the university community during these years of high crime and general unease which I have described. On the other hand, the presence of that school in the community has taken the cream of the children into the private school, the very children who should have been strengthening the public schools. As the population in the community was reduced by the renewal program, the public schools were left with extra capacity. Therefore, the school districts were enlarged so that children from the slum areas around came into those schools. The result is that every one of the elementary schools now has a majority of slum children and the high school has 10% white and 90% Negroes, of which 90% are largely slum children. This presents an extremely difficult problem for the community. It is an intriguing dilemma, if you want to stand off to one side and look at it objectively, because you can't say that the laboratory school should be abolished, because the laboratory school has kept the faculty at the university. And yet you can't say it is good, because the presence of the laboratory school

has weakened the public schools.

Mr. Grillo: I recommend to anyone for his library a copy of Mrs. Beadle's paper. It offers a neighborhood's view of the community renewal process with ethnic undertones, written from an apparent grasp of some of the large considerations; economic, social psychological and socio-psychological which are involved. I quite agree that every community is different in its complex of problems--geographic, economic and human. However, I leave this evening's consideration of the problem, which although it has many aspects can be summarized in a simple question, "How can we learn to live together"? with a sense of pessimism.

Mr. Dewey: I gather from Mrs. Beadle's very careful analysis of the Chicago situation that much of the effort made by the people there was to correct a situation. I have the feeling that when you build up community spirit, all too often it comes about as a result of a given problem which exists.

Mrs. Birge: I think that one of the strengths and great opportunities of the Berkeley community is that it includes such a large variety of people of all economic levels, of all races and classes. We don't have to have a strictly middle-class community. I think we have a great opportunity and one which we are beginning to work with effectively.

THE NEGRO REVOLT: A CHALLENGE TO PUBLIC EDUCATION

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Stanford M. Lyman, Head
Liberal Arts Department
University Extension
University of California
Berkeley, California

The topic, "The Negro Revolt: A Challenge to the Public School", I think can be approached in several ways, and I do not wish to approach it in all of them. In fact, I wish to approach it in a way which I suspect is not the most popular, the most usual way in which it is discussed. It seems to me there are two parts to the challenge of the present Negro revolt in American as it affects public schools. The first is, of course, the question of the integration of the public schools; the question of the provision, through policy, through law, through practice, of equal access to school facilities by persons regardless of their race.

The question, a large one in itself, and one that of course brings out the headlines, and of late, the violence in adults, is not the subject, however, of my talk. The subject of my talk is rather what I consider the second part of the challenge to public schools, and that is the quality of education itself. I want to talk about the quality of education.

Before I do that, however, I perhaps ought to make clear the scope of the challenge which the recognition of the existence of minorities in America poses for people in this particular area. Wilson Record, an eminent sociologist now at Sacramento State College, has written a book about minority groups in the San Francisco Bay Area. In that study he has done a demographic analysis projecting the minority population to the year 1980. He estimates that by 1980 Bay Area Negroes will have at least tripled their present number, in the following steps: 310,000 by 1965; 414,000 or more by 1970; and, with a sharp increase in the early 1970's because of local growth, 586,000 by 1975, and 800,000 by 1980. This is Professor Record's estimate of the Negro population of the San Francisco-Bay Area. He goes on in this book to discuss, rather briefly, other minority groups whose population is also growing: Chinese, Japanese, Mexican, Samoans, Koreans, Filipinos, and a group that I think receives very little attention though it is growing in numbers in the Bay Area, American Indians, who are now becoming recognized as citizens and members of the community, and are moving into the urban areas and are providing students for the schools. We have, in other words, in the Bay Area, a large number of minority peoples, and we have a large and growing number of individual persons who are of minority descent.

Now I'm interested, today, in talking about their education because it is the quality of their education that I think is really a tremendous challenge. We do not face only a Negro revolt in America, we face a revolution on the part of all minority groups. For whatever gains are made by the Negro spearhead will also be made by every other minority group at the same time. Laws will be passed which will guarantee integration not for Negroes, but for all minority groups. Policies will be provided under which integration will occur for persons regardless of race, not because they are Negroes. Therefore, it is a minority revolt; and it is a curious kind of revolt, because in one sense it is difficult to speak of a revolt of peoples who have been here a long time; a revolt of people who regard themselves as members of American society; a revolt of people who discover, in different times and in different ways, that they are at present not regarded as full members of American society, and who are seeking in one way and another to make sure that they become such.

When I talk about education I want to talk about mainly two subject areas; though I suspect what I have to say will apply in different ways to other subject areas in school as well. It might be strange that as a sociologist I have chosen to talk today about history, but it is a subject dear to my heart, my favorite subject when I was a student; and also sociology, since I do notice that it is now listed as a course or set of courses in the public schools. I want to talk about history, and I want to talk about the way it is taught in terms of the question of minorities today.

Let me first start by talking about world history. I assume there still are courses in the public schools that are called World History, and that someone takes these courses, and they may even be required. I graduated high school only 12 years ago, so I suspect things haven't changed that much in this period. World history is very interesting as a discipline. Even as a student I was struck by what passed for World History; what had become World History and the conventional way that it was taught. What I have to say about World History in the high school does not apply only in high schools, it applies to colleges and it applies to countries other than our own. One of the first observations that a perceptive person will make if he looks at a book on world history is that the Negroes are not in world history. You can search in vain for the Negro in world history, he is not there. World history exists without the Negro. Negroes, it appears, have an anthropology but they do not have a history. Negroes, it appears, have a sociology but not a history. Negroes have social problems, psychological needs for adjustment, but they do not have a history. They are not in our history books.

Let me take you through the chapters of nearly every World History book you will find (I would be very pleased if you could show me a history book that does not follow the format that I will take you through). History, it would appear, begins both in time and space in our books. It begins always somewhere in the Middle East. There is never any attempt to tell us why history begins there and not anywhere else. There is never any attempt to tell us about what was going on somewhere else, when history was beginning. History begins, appropriately for the thesis that is being presented, in a place in time called the "cradle of civilization". History is "born" and at first lives in a "cradle". You learn and your students learn, that there were a few peoples; and that these peoples had strange names, and that they were "little peoples". There were Phoenicians and Hebrews, and sometimes some history books even pick the peoples from the Bible--the Philistines and the Amalekites, the Syrians, the Babylonians, the Chaldeans--and we read a chapter, or usually for the "little peoples", we read half a chapter or a quarter of a chapter on them. And that chapter is really rushed through in order to get to Chapter 2, which is a very important chapter entitled "Egypt". This chapter comes as close to Africa as the public school student of history is likely to get and is the last time that Africa will be in world history. Here the student learns that Egypt was "born", persisted through its golden age, and that eventually it declined. Then the student turns the page and history has moved to Greece. He learns that Greece was "born", grew up, achieved its "golden age" under Pericles the Great. He learns about Athens and Sparta, and some of the wars, and then Greece disappears and Rome appears on the historical scene. History is "moving", claims this thesis. It is moving not only in time, it is moving in space. History begins in the Middle East, it starts "moving" and it moves westward. I wonder if any student raised his hand and said "Tell me what was going on in Egypt while Rome was around?" or "What was going on in Mexico while all of the ancient societies were around?" or in Greenland, or what now is the United States of America or South America, or Borneo or China or Africa? The history book is dogged in its determination. Rome, like Greece, declines. At this point the historical theme becomes rather vague and the student is ushered into a chapter entitled "The Dark Ages".

The Dark Ages do not take place in Egypt, or in Babylonia or in Ancient Rome. They take place in central and western Europe. Rome, although the point is rarely mentioned, is now Italy. The Dark Ages, as any student will probably tell you, bother him because the historical theme of syncopated time-space motion, of rise and fall, of golden age and decline, is by no means apparent. Teachers probably suffer terribly themselves with this period, and they quickly get over it and into the Middle Ages; then, happily, on to the Renaissance, which, by the way, is located back in Rome again. And here we can stay for a century, not talking about politics, not talking about society, but talking about painting and sculpture by Michelangelo, or by Raphael. Then the history book turns to "Modern Times". Sometimes a history book will throw in an extra chapter before modern times, "The Age of Discovery". That will take the student from 1400 to 1800 very nicely.

The "Age of Discovery" takes place in the North Atlantic area. Whatever is happening in the Middle East, or Asia, or Africa is not in the Age of Discovery. Nor are Rome, Greece, Babylonia, the Chaldeans or the Syrians in that age. And the chapter on the Age of Discovery quickly gets the student across the Atlantic so that "modern times" take place in North America. It really doesn't take place in all of North America, it takes place in

the United States. There's no teaching of the history of Canada or of Mexico (except perhaps for mention of poor Maximilian, left to the tender mercies of the Mexicans who shot him). This history of modern times in our world history books is the history of the United States and its growth. Only, unlike Greece and Rome, the United States doesn't seem to be about to decline. Thus, the theme finishes on a happy note, history moving ever onward and upward. But, curiously enough, the history book does not suggest that history will move in time or space across the Pacific in the way it did across the Atlantic.

The story ends, the student is left in Modern Times, but the author might be troubled by the fact that he's left out two-thirds of the world in his "World History". And so, what does he do? He puts in a chapter entitled "China and the Far East". That comes at the end of the development of World History; and where does it begin? It begins all over again. In the chapter on China he takes you in 30 pages from Sinanthropus through modern China. And that usually is the "end" of the book. That constitutes World History. Now, there are a lot of reasons for teaching history this way. There are, indeed, very profound philosophical reasons which justify teaching history this way. But such justifications are open to very serious methodological and philosophical criticism. One of the things I'm interested in is that this version of world history provides Negroes and other colored groups with no history. One of the curious things about this history is that it is a history of white men. There are no other peoples prominent in this world history but white men. These history books have no non-whites in them. When minorities do appear they are but nether characters who flit through the back pages. There is a vague mention, of course, of slavery in America. There is a vague mention in Rome of the voyages of the ancient Roman seafarers to Africa, but aside from these and a few other instances there is no mention of the role in history of Negroes. There is no history of them at all. And this neglect of them gives rise to the often unstated but widely held impression that Negroes are not in history. History happens to be in the possession of the white man.

The continent of Africa has been the hunting ground, not of historians, but of anthropologists. It is rare to find a historian of Africa. But today we are witnessing something very interesting. Anthropologists are being priced out of the market. Anthropologists who maintain, and the number who do so is rapidly diminishing, that they are students solely of "primitive" society, are discovering that there are very few "primitive" societies left to be studied. The anthropologist is being driven out and is being replaced by political scientists in Africa. There is a whole new sub-field of Anthropology now called Political Anthropology, which is in fact, political science in areas where there has been, thus far, no political science. And the African historian is being discovered, or is being created and thrown up by the new nations of Africa.

It is also being discovered that, contrary to world history text books, there was an African history; something actually happened in Africa. There were nations and peoples, and politics and wars, and invasions and cultures; and this is a very sticky and inconvenient "discovery". It's hard to swallow. After all, it was so easy before this "discovery" to assign the Negro to the anthropologist and leave him there.

I think we face the necessity of a revolution in the teaching and the writing of history. Not a revolution designed to ameliorate the feelings of those people previously left out, but instead a revolution to provide the honest reportage and recording of what actually did happen. I think that it will soon become very apparent that we need to evaluate critically our history text books, our history teaching. We should perhaps, start to encourage our students to ask why we should continue to use the present text books. But I have good reason to believe that world history 200 years from now will still begin in Egypt and end somewhere else, and will follow along in this meandering line with two-thirds of the world still left out, or thrown into residual chapters at the end. We have good reason, therefore, to encourage our students and ourselves to raise critical questions about this history; perhaps most importantly why this history is written this way. What consequences flow from writing history this way? What facts are left out? What may be believed and what may not?

I would now like to turn my attention from World History to American History. Last year I spoke about American History to this same group, and there may be some people who remember some of the things I said. I want to repeat some of them and add some things too. It is my belief that American History is taught, presently today, and books about it are written, with the following theme: That America was created perfect; it was at its inception, a genius of perfection; it was the culmination of the highest analysis of values and institutions the world had yet seen to that date, and that the history of America is merely the story of the geographical expansion of that perfection. This it seems to me, is the guiding theme of contemporary American history books. America emerges as the embodiment of perfection in 1787 or perhaps earlier in 1776. There remains but the steady, irreversible "manifest destiny" of America to spread forth its wonder and bring its way of life to the nether peoples who inhabit the otherwise empty wastelands of the West.

America, therefore, is not perceived in our history books as a problematical nation. It is not perceived as a sociologically interesting nation. It is perceived rather as the light of the world. And so what happens? How does the textbook historian deal with real problems of American history? He deals with them as accidents, interferences with the expansion of American perfection. Slavery is one such interference with America's perfect equality. However, its unfortunate interference is wiped out in 1865; the Negro, his one role on the stage of American history having been performed, disappears. The American Indian is left with even less; a noble savage, he is held to be the inevitably destroyed person, unable to survive against the perfection and onrush of American institutions. Other minority groups fare no better.

The experiments of American society, the experiments by those who in our history quarreled with the institutions of America; sought to change them, sought to create utopian societies, something other than the status quo always are relegated to a special chapter in the book entitled "Culture and Literature" which disposes of them summarily.

Our students are taught presidential history--American history is packed into four-year periods, in which one more perfect man replaces another. There are some embarrassing problems in this style of history. It is embarrassing to deal with Ulysses S. Grant. It is embarrassing to deal with Warren G. Harding. And so they are dealt with summarily and the lesser presidents, the presidents who in some important ways were greater than the ones who were honored are dealt with rather quickly. The whole period from 1865 to 1900 is a "gray" one; and so it's gotten rid of quickly and the Negro, by the way, is put off the stage of American history completely. There is some talk about immigration of other minority groups, but having described the several waves of immigration, that subject is also summarily disposed of.

One wonders who the American are who this history is about. What people is having its history written here? What are their qualities, their personalities, their institutions? If you look at those history books you'll find it sometimes is somewhat difficult to find out what people are in American history. And what's interesting to see, and tragic to see is that at the time these historical events were going on, this history, these events, were being critically appraised by eminent persons. There is a vast literature, a vast critical literature on American history. Not all negative, but all full of the spirit of moral perspective and scholarly inquiry. I suspect our students have never heard of it. These critics are rarely mentioned or they appear in a footnote, and accidental interference, but not as the stock of thought about American history. The stock of American history, therefore, is perfection. History is patriotism. Students must learn to love, not to know. Which leads me to my third point about history.

This morning I took off my shelf John Hope Franklin's "History of the American Negro". It's a good book; not a great book. Professor Franklin has devoted his life to writing the history of the American Negro. I was struck by the cautiousness in many places, with which he approaches this. In the footnotes in the back of the book he showed me something that frankly I was not fully aware; that there is a vast, available literature on the history of Negroes in America. That there has been as much as a multi-volume edition of the history of the American Negro, and that it was written in the 19th century. But in our history books, in what our children learn in school, the Negro is

not there. The Negro arrives in 1619 to be sure. Every history book tells us that. He arrives. And the books tell us that he was a slave, which is not true. The Negroes did not arrive as slaves. They arrived as indentured servants, in much the same way as many white people. Slavery in America was a peculiar American institution. It was as Kenneth Stampp called it, "a peculiar institution". It grew out of the curious combination of economic and social problems that arose in the control of indentured servants and their offspring. It took over one hundred years after 1619, before Negroes became slaves. Negroes were slave owners in 1650 in America. But I doubt if many students know that. The Negro arrives in 1619, and having arrived, he disappears from American history until later, in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 when we find out that he's three-fifths of a man. We also find out again, that he is the source of a social problem. He is the source of this problem in American history, but this problem in American history is not presented as a human problem, and it is never presented as a moral problem; it is never presented as an institutional problem. It's a special kind of political problem. The solutions to this problem are always in the hands of white men. The Negro is the object of this history but never the subject of it; he is the secondary character, the residual category, who lives, so to speak, at the behest of the white man who so graciously deigned to think about him. But, having been emancipated from slavery, the Negro disappears completely. Mild revival for him occurs, usually, in the end of the American History book when there is a recognition that he is still alive in the twentieth century. In discussions of World War II, Negro soldiers are heard of. And then, after the war, there is the hope that the promise of 1863 might become the performance of 1963.

I suggest that this history is a very false one. Its description of the facts of America is not bad because it hurts feelings, it's bad because it's false. The duty of history is to tell the truth, so far as that truth can be known. And here we have the need to write, to revise, to teach the truth of American history and of the Negro in America. We have to do this not only for the Negro but for everybody else in America, for the remarkable thing about the history of American is that it is very often not the history of Americans. One searches in vain for Americans in American history. Aside from the presidents, the Secretaries of State and a few others, one finds it hard to find any people in American history. One finds it hard to discover their human qualities, the differences between them, their feelings, their desires, their wants, their economics, their society, their community. What are they like? That's the stuff of history, but it's not in the books.

Negroes are not alone in being left out of American history. They are remarkable in their absence, but they are not alone. When I was working on writing a doctoral dissertation entitled "The Structure of Chinese Society in the 19th Century America", I discovered something quite interesting; that there is no history of Chinese in America--there is none. There is one book, written in 1909 by a sociologist, on the history of anti-Chinese legislation. But the Chinese are secondary characters in this history--they are the object of this history, not the subject of it. To my knowledge, by the way, there is as yet no history of Chinese in America. There are two recent books on the subject--both poor, and again in these books the Chinese have become the objects, not the subject.

Let me turn my attention to another subject area--Sociology. There is a fad for Sociology today, I'm told. When I was at the University of British Columbia teaching Sociology, our enrollments in the three years trebled. I ended my last year at the University of British Columbia teaching Introductory Sociology to 600 students in one room. Sociology is popular. There was a time when Psychology was popular; I gather it's now dead. There was a time when Nursing was popular, and that's dead. There was a time when Political Science was popular--that's dead. Sociology will be dead as a fad too, let me assure you. But as a fad, as the new truth, Sociology is prominent today, and I'm not so sure that this is to our advantage. But at any rate, Sociology is here. It's taught in the colleges, it's taught in the high schools, and here we face a problem. I'm not so sure that high school students should be taught what passes for Sociology at all, frankly. But let's suppose they are. What are they taught? I wonder if in part Sociology hasn't become a vast exercise in moralizing and adjusting. Justifying this

emphasis is a peculiar perversion of what was once a brilliant theory in Sociology, telling how human beings come to terms with the society in which they live. This theory has been converted, very subtly and very carefully, into asserting that human beings don't come to terms, but succumb to the society in which they live. They become its creatures, its servants. This distorted theory comes in many forms. It comes in a whole host of things called "Education Psychology". It comes in things called "The Psychology of Adjustment".

Thus far I have argued that America, like other societies, is a problematic nation; not rated perfect; not destined only for geographical expansion, it is a nation which in its inception held out the promise of a greater society, but so far as can presently be examined, it has not produced the performance to match that promise. Insofar as that is the case, I would like to raise the question, "What should constitute adjustment to that society?" What do you mean when you tell someone that he must become a part of that society? You could tell him that he lives in fact in that which is as perfect as can be obtained, and therefore ought not be changed. Do you mean to tell an American student that whatever now is, is forever; and that he must accept it, and indeed glory in it, and indeed be proud of himself for accepting it? And that he must watch, with his eye askance, for those persons, appropriately called "deviants" by sociologists, who depart from this acceptance, this invisible middle line which is the golden line. I suggest that is what some books and some teachers say Sociology is about, and I suggest it is a dangerous subject. Dangerous for its immoral moralizing; dangerous for its falsification of history; dangerous for its violation of the propositions of education.

In a practical sense, sociology has convinced some people, especially those interested in assimilation or in minority groups, that the greatest of all possible things that could happen to a member of a minority group is to become a full-fledged member of the American middle-class. This is said by some to be the greatest of all possible things, the highest prize to be sought. Well, interestingly enough, it's the sociologists who have refuted this thesis. If I read him right, it's David Riesman, who tells us in The Lonely Crowd, (which is not about minority people but about us; about those who have arrived, or who never had to arrive because they were born there) that it is now necessary to escape from the present ideology of America. We find also in the study of minority relations that at last some sociologists have recognized this point, and are unhappy to see it. The point has been made about one group that I would have, at one time, least expected it to be directed at, the Negro. The great sociologist of the Negro, Franklin Frazier, in the book written shortly before his death, "Black Bourgeoisie" studied for the first time in his life the successful American Negro. All of his life Frazier had devoted himself to the ghetto Negro, the poor Negro, the discriminated Negro, but finally he turned his attention to the successful Negro and discovered to his despair, that the successful Negro was on a road to nowhere; that having arrived, the trip hadn't been worth it. And at the end of his book, Frazier said that perhaps his description of the Negro middle class was also a description of the whole American middle class, and that it was America that was on the road to nowhere; on a treadmill to nothing; living a life barren and meaningless; a society where people eked out a pleasurable but not a truly happy existence.

Now let me turn my attention to the problems that arise out of what I say. There are three, I think. The first, and I want to turn my attention to Negroes and the educational process here, is the possibility of writing and teaching a new false history. Now I have talked about one kind of false history, but there is lurking around us right now another kind of false history that I think is as dangerous, if not more dangerous, than the one we have. It is the false history that grows out of misplaced affection, misplaced emotional feelings, misplaced interest in the hearts and minds of our children. There is a tendency in writing about minority groups, and it has existed in the past, to speak of them in a pleasant way in order not to hurt their feelings. The Negro was a slave; let us not make much of that lest it hurt his feelings. There are Negro criminals in America; let us not make much of that lest it hurt his feelings. There have been revolutions against slavery, led by Negroes, in which murder took place. Let us not make much of that, it might hurt someone's feelings. Let us instead devote ourselves to finding out that which is complimentary and only saying that. But this is only another false history, history written with another purpose than that for which history is intended.

The false history we live today unintentionally glorifies the white man. It would be no great solution to write a false history which unintentionally glorified the Negro or makes him "equal" in a kind of curious and vulgar egalitarianism, which makes the white and black man look good by only saying nice things about them both. There is then the danger of filiopietistic history, as the great historian of immigration, Marcus Lee Hansen called it; history that is written not for the purpose of enlightenment but for the purpose of warming the heart. This is the new false history we face the possibility of teaching today.

Many people have come to me and said, "How can I give Negroes something to be proud of? Could you tell me something because I've looked around and I don't see anything to be proud of". It is not the purpose of education to make people proud or not proud. In my mind the purpose of education is to enlighten, to give knowledge and hopefully, to inculcate in a few, the interest in the pursuit of knowledge, and perhaps wisdom. Not something else; not warming the heart. There is another dangerous element here, and that is patriotism. Patriotism has often been held to be what history should be about. History should inculcate national respect and love of country. I always ask the question, "If a country deserves respect, let there be evidence for it, but not respect without evidence." Is America something to be proud of? I think it is. Now let us present the evidence. Let us present the problematics and that includes the problematics in the history of minorities as well as others.

I have recently had occasion to review two books written about Chinese. I purposely entitled my review article of one of them "Up from the Hatchet Man", hoping to call attention to a kind of vulgar, happy history written about the Chinese which tells that they are an ordinary people who are just like us; that while they may look different, act different, and speak differently, these appearances are not important. We are urged to believe that the Chinese are, so to speak, in disguise and that what we must do is rip off the disguise and discover that they are just like us. And what is "us" in this book? "Us" happens to be a middle-class proprietor or if not that, a physicist or an engineer. That is "us", and "they" are like "us". And the author was able to find a total of 95 Chinese who fit this description and he devoted one paragraph to telling about each of them.

He didn't want to talk about that very interesting sociological phenomenon which existed and to a certain extent still exists today in Chinese communities, the "tong" or Secret Society. A European writer who is much less worried about the emotional problems of his readers has written about the "social bandit" who infests the countryside. But the Tong man, as the American newspapers like to call him, who resided in Chinatown was a similar type, who had real interests which he fought for and defended with vigor. However, this type was not to be mentioned because it might arouse intolerance and hurt someone's feelings. He was wiped out of history; a figment of American newspapermen's imagination; he did not exist. How convenient for contemporary middle class men to have stripped away this history. But what a greater loss for us to no longer know about the pathways to success found by those who came to our society with a different cultural heritage and less opportunities in legitimate enterprises.

There is, and I want to conclude on this point, a proper tone for the educational process, and that tone is irony. I think the goal of the educational process ought to be to try to encourage the student to perceive and discriminate between appearances and reality; and further, to have a kind of sensitivity to, interest in, and a kind of tragic sympathy, if I can use that word, for the nature of the human race. This goal, I think is really worth striving after in teaching, in books, and in educational psychology.

I think there's another tragic thing that we lose sight of here-the failing student. I'm often told, when I talk about the fact that I'm interested in the life of the mind and that I think all students should be interested in the life of the mind, that I talk nonsense. "For one or two, for an occasional Ph.D., for a few maybe, but not for all students. Our students are not the types, some are stupid, many are lazy, others are going to end up in inferior jobs, are going to be vulgar people, etc.; they'll never learn." They have already been pre-assigned to failure. Of course there is a recent

and refined language used to describe this phenomenon. It comes in words such as the "culturally deprived child"-this is the latest euphemism for the Negro. What I'm struck by is the sense in which this perception makes failures of so many in advance. There is a curious group that comes to mind which calls attention to our haste in making failures of those we think are failures. The Black Muslims have provided a very interesting challenge to those who believe that the failures of American society are consigned to hell forever.

For whatever your beliefs about their values, ideas and goals, they have shown that they can go in among the most downtrodden, the vulgar, the misbegotten, the dregs of American society, and take them out, get rid of alcoholism, get rid of dope addiction, make them into promising, active, eloquent spokesmen for their cause. What magical power, what mystical influence comes here from these American Negroes, who seem to know how to do this? I suspect that whatever the value or validity in their scholarship, there is in the Black Muslim movement an ideology which gives rise to an inspiration. They are not only inspired themselves, but able to communicate their inspiration to others. They instill their followers in the same way as religious conversion takes place in others. They are able to instill change of life. I suspect as educators we have a similar if less dramatic opportunity to do the same. I suggest we give up too quickly. We consign to hell, educational hell at any rate, some of our students very early in life, and we leave them there, and let them go. I have a friend who is also a Negro. I knew him at Cal in the old days and I used to talk to him quite a lot, although he was a very quiet fellow. One day I said, "Say, where are you from?" He said, "San Francisco." Since we are of the same age, approximately, I said "Where did you go to high school?", and he laughed and said, "Well, I went to several." I said, "You did"? He said, "Yes, I got kicked out of all of them. You see, I am an incorrigible juvenile delinquent; that's my official listing. I'm a dangerous, knife-carrying person. I have a straight "F" average from high school." I said, "Well, how is it possible that you're here at the University of California?" "Oh, he said, "well you see, I'm a junior now, I wasn't here before. When I got kicked out of all these high schools, I went into the service, was drafted, and then somehow got a high school diploma in the army. Then I came back and I decided I wanted to go to school. Of course, I applied to Cal and they laughed at me. And so I went to the school for "criminals" in the Bay Area, a local junior college, and I pursued studies there for two years, and got straight "A's", then came to Cal and I'm still getting straight "A's". He went to Harvard where he got his Ph.D., and he's now a professor of history. He is, of course, an example of what Clark Kerr likes to call "the late bloomer". I notice there is a grave doubt about whether there are many of these people. I am told one should not place too much hope on "late bloomers", they die too quickly or they never bloom at all. I suggest we race a three-pronged pedagogical challenge in education. We are caught between two dilemmas in curriculum. On the one hand, we must revise our history, our sociology, and our image of society in accordance with the facts. On the other hand, we must avoid giving in to the easy temptation of writing a convenient, a happy, a helpful, but an equally distorted history. We are further faced with the task of trying to bring out in people the love of learning, and that applies, I would hope, to Negroes as well as to every other person in our schools.

COMMUNITY ENLIGHTENMENT SERIES

The Berkeley Unified School District has been active for some time seeking ways in which all youth could be better served by the resources of the Berkeley community.

This series was one of a number of efforts directed toward orienting teachers and the public to the problem of youth and community responsibility. While the specific interest of the teaching personnel involved is to provide greater educational opportunities, this series of lectures was organized on a broad basis for a general community audience, in the hope that the public might gain a clearer image of the School problem and its relationship to the community problem of providing greater opportunities for all in all aspects of community life.

The personnel of the Berkeley Unified School District, as part of their continuous education, have incorporated the content of the Series into their professional in-service program under the direction of the Intergroup Education Project.

Lecture Series 1963-1964

BERKELEY UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT

C. H. Wennerberg, Superintendent.

INVOLVEMENT OF THE INTERGROUP EDUCATION PROJECT

The Intergroup Education Project is the Berkeley Unified School District's attempt to make more functional the in-service training of faculty members in the broad area of human relations. Toward this end, the thinking of experts and community people alike have become a part of the professional growth of school personnel.

Project Coordinator

Mrs. Kathrynne Favors

Director-Consultant

Dr. Marie Fielder

LEADERS OF SEMINARS AND SPECIAL PROJECT MEMBERS

Ora Arnold-Teacher, Remedial Mathematics-Burbank Junior High School
Louise Brown-Teacher, Second Grade-Lincoln Elementary School
Barbara Cannon-Teacher, French, Music-Burbank Junior High School
Bob Chacona-Teacher, Sixth Grade-Lincoln Elementary School
Ann Dempster-Teacher, Home Instruction
Helen Devereaux-Teacher, Kindergarten-Franklin Elementary School
Ruby Dyer-Guidance Consultant
Arthur Fletcher-Teacher, Physical Education-Burbank Junior High School
Daniel Freudenthal-Administrative Assistant
Gerry Gilliam-Teacher, First Grade-Washington Elementary School
Alice Gordon-Teacher, Fourth Grade-Lincoln Elementary School
Harriet Haas-Guidance Consultant
Jeanne Holmquist-Resource Teacher-Columbus School
Howard Hughes-Teacher, English-Garfield Junior High
Richard Hunter-Teacher, Sixth Grade-Franklin School
Carrie LaTorres-Teacher, First Grade-Lincoln Elementary School
Samantha Lee-Teacher, History-Berkeley High School
Jay Manley-Teacher, English-Berkeley High School
Astor Mizuhara-Teacher, Fifth Grade-Franklin Elementary School
Anais Mock-Teacher, Spanish
Carol Morel-Teacher, Remedial Reading-Emerson School
Janet Nutzman-Teacher, History, Sociology-Berkeley High School
Bill Rhodes-Principal-Lincoln Elementary School
Tony Rinaldi-Consulting Teacher, Science and Mathematics
Russ Saunders-Remedial Reading Consultant
Betty Selix-Teacher, Third Grade-Columbus School
Barbara Sinclair-Teacher, third Grade-LeConte School
Bill Somerville-Stiles Hall-University of California
Roy Takeuchi-Principal-Whittier School
Bob Wasser-Guidance Consultant
Larry Wells-Vice-Principal-Franklin Elementary School
Jackie White-Teacher, English-Berkeley High School
Palmer Whitted-Counselor-Berkeley High School
Thomasine Wilson-Teacher, History-Berkeley High School
Harriet Wood-Principal-Emerson Elementary School

SEMINAR PARTICIPANTS

Administrators
Counselors and Guidance Workers
Supervisors
Principals
Vice-Principals
Teachers from Elementary, Junior High
and High School Levels

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Organization.....Intergroup Education Project

Mrs. Kathryne Favors
Project Coordinator

Dr. Marie Fielder
Director-Consultant

Miss Arthurine L. Le Bon
Secretary

Cover..... Miss Evelyn Haymaker
Department of Art
Willard Junior High School

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